E. H. Gillett
1872.

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THE Examinations OF

HENRY BARROW, *JOHN GREENWOOD*, and *JOHN PENRY*, before the High Commissioners and Lords of the Council,

With their Answers to the [illegible] Questions, why they would not take an Oath [illegible] why they refused to Hear, or have Communion in the Church of *ENGLAND*?

As also, Mr. *Penry*'s Declaration of his Faith and Allegiance to Her Majesty; and his Letter to the Church at *London*, where he was a Member under their manifold Trials: Together with Mr. *Barrow*'s Letter a little before his Death.

Faithfully penned by the Prisoners themselves, very useful for all suffering Christians, who suffer for the same things.

Luke 12. 2. *There is nothing covered that shall not be revealed: neither hid, that shall not be made known.*

Eccles. 2. 14. *For every work, God himself will bring unto Judgement, with every secret thing, whether good or evil.*

LONDON:
Printed, for *William Marshall*, at the Sign of the *Bible* in *Newgate-street*,
163[illegible]-9 probably.

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To the READER.

THE testimony and sufferings of the Prisoners, whose Examinations here ensue, cannot easily (gentle Reader) be forgotten of any whose heart is touched with care of Religion, and zeal of the Truth. How weighty the causes were for which they suffered, may appear, partly by that which followeth: But chiefly by other Writings and Books, by themselves set out heretofore. Here hast thou the manner of the Prelats proceeding against them, and how they were convicted of their Brownisme, Donatisme, Anabaptistry, Schisme, Heresie, &c. wherewith they were charged, and for which they were so many years kept in miserable close Prisons, and at last bereaved of their lives. Sure whosoever had been the persons, and whatsoever the errors, it would well have become the Lord Arch-Bishop of the Church of England, to have better instructed and informed them by the word of Truth, and wholesome Doctrine, before they had been adjudged to Prison and Death, 2 Tim. 2. 24, 25. and 4. 2 Tit. 2. 1. Or if Paul's counsel could not take effect, yet Pilate's example might have stayed such courses, who examined our Lord Christ's Accusers, and found them false, and never sent him to close Prison for refusing to swear to accuse himself, Matt. 27. Luke 23. John 18. Neither yet did the late Prelates in Q. Maries days use altogether such severity: For Bonner himself, with the other Tyrants of that time, had often conference and disputation with the Martyrs, and sought by Scriptures to have overthrown them, if they could. Evil therefore have our Bps. provided for their Cause and credit, so slightly to deal in matters of such moment, and to proceed to such severe tortures, before more open and orderly conviction of their faults and errors. Lo, now all posterities shall see their practises; and though they have spilt the Blood of those men which vexed them so sore, yet can they not bereave the world of their testimony, which by word and writing they have left behind them. The Lord give these men (if they belong unto him) to advert and see their dealings, and to remember the account which they e're long shall be called unto, before him who is ready to judge quick and dead. The publishing of these things cannot justly be offensive to any, seeing 1. Nothing else is here set down, but that which was then demanded and answered, (as near as the Prisoners could remember). 2. And they, which have themselves set forth the examinations of Martyrs heretofore, may not be grieved now when their own turn is come, and their proceedings made known likewise; they which do well, need not shun the light. However it be, the Church of God I doubt not shall reap some profit hereby, for which, how small soever it be, let him have the Praise. Amen.

A Brief

A brief of the Examination of me Henry Barrow, *the 19th of* November, 1586. *before the Arch B. Arch D. and Dr.* Cuſſins, *as near as my memory could carry, being at* Lambeth.

THis 19th. being the Lords day, between 9 and 10 of the Clock in the forenoon, Mr. *Hull* and I went unto the *Clink* to viſit Mr. *Greenwood*, and the other Brethren there Impriſoned; where we had not been the ſpace of one quarter of an hour, but Mr. *Shepherd* the Keeper of the Priſon came up, rebuked Mr. *Greenwood*, and ſtayed me, ſaying, he had commandment from his Lords Grace ſo to do. I demanded a ſight of his Warrant; he anſwered that he would do it, and I might afterward, if I were wronged, bring mine Action. So he locked me up in Priſon, and forthwith went to his Lords Grace to *Lambeth*. About one of the Clock he returned, and brought with him Two Purſevants. I was forthwith put into a Boat and carried to *Lambeth*. By the way one of the Purſevants, called *Watſon*, drew out of his boſom a Letter from the Court of *Lambeth* unto me, ſaying how he had a long time ſought me. I told him, his pains deſerved thanks neither at Gods hands nor mine: I refuſed his Letter, and ſaid, that I obeyed neither it nor him, neither would I read it, ſhewing how I was under the arreſt of the Keeper of the *Clink*, who ſate by me. Well, we arrived at *Lambeth*, where after I had peruſed the Bs. his ſtate, I was brought into his preſence-Chamber, yet not until this *Watſon* had prevented me, and ſhewed his Maſter what had paſſed in the Boat. *Arch B. Barrow*, is your name *Barrow*? *B.* Yea. *A.* It is told me, that you refuſe to receive or obey our Letter; know you what you do? it is from the High Commiſſioners, and this man a Purſevant. *B.* I refuſed to receive or obey that Letter at that time. *A.* Why ſo? *B.* Becauſe I was under Arreſt, and Impriſoned without Warrant, and againſt Law: and therefore now it was too late to bring the Letter. *A.* Why, may not a Councellor commit to Priſon by his

bare commandment? (alledging how the Aldermen of *London* do dayly.) *B.* That is not the queſtion, what a Councellor may do; but whether this man may do it without Warrant, by the Law of the Land? (pointing to the Keeper of the *Clink*.) *A.* Know you the Law of the Land? *B.* Very little; yet was I of *Grays-Inn* ſome years. (Then his two Doctors and he, derided mine unskilfulneſs.) Let this paſs; I look for little help by Law againſt you: I pray you why have you Impriſoned me, and after this manner ſent for me? *A.* That you ſhall know upon your Oath: will you Swear? *B.* I hold it lawful to ſwear, ſo it be done with due order and circumſtances. *A.* Reach a Book, hold it him. *B.* What ſhall we do with this? *A.* Lay your hand upon it, man. *B.* To what purpoſe? *A.* To Swear. *B.* I uſe to ſwear by no Books. *A.* You ſhall not ſwear by the Book, but by God only. *B.* So I purpoſe when I ſwear. *Cuſ.* Did you never take an Oath at the Aſſiſe, before the Judges there? *B.* No. *Cuſ.* But would you refuſe there to lay your hand on a Book, and Swear? *B.* Yea. *C.* Then would your teſtimony not be taken. *A.* Why man, the Book is no part of the Oath, it is but a ceremony. *B.* A needleſs and wicked ceremony. *A.* Why, know you what you ſay? know you what Book it is? It is the *Bible*. *B.* I will ſwear by no *Bible*. *C.* Schiſmaticks are clamorous always: it is a perpetual note to know them by. *A.* Mr. Dr. *Cuſſins* ſaith true, ſuch were the *Donatiſts* always in the Councels, and ſuch art thou; and all other Schiſmaticks, ſuch as thou art. *B.* Say your pleaſure, God forgive you; I am neither Schiſmatick or clamorous: I anſwer but your demands, if you will, I will be ſilent. *A.* Well, will you lay your hand on the *Bible*, and take an Oath. *B.* I uſe to joyn no creatures to the name of God in an Oath. *A.* Neither ſhall you; this is but a cuſtom commanded by Law. *B.* The Law ought not to command a wicked Cuſtom. *A.* Why, is it not lawful to lay your hand on a Book? *B.* Yes, but not in an Oath. *A.* Will you lay your hand in my hand and ſwear? *B.* No. *A.* Will you lay your hand on the Table and ſwear? *B.* No. *A.* Will you hold up your hands towards Heaven and ſwear? *B.* That is not amiſs: but I will uſe my liberty. *A.* Why, you hold it lawful to lay your hand on the Table and ſwear? *B.* Yea, ſo it be not commanded and made of neceſſity. *A.* Why, the Book

is

is the like; it is nothing of the Oath, but a thing indifferent. *B.* If it be nothing of the Oath, why do you ſo peremptorily enjoyn it? And if it be indifferent, as you ſay it is, then do I well in not uſing it. *A.* Nay, you do not well in refuſing it, for therein you ſhew your ſelf diſobedient to the higher powers ſet over you by God. *B.* Even now you ſaid it was a thing indifferent: If it be ſo, there is no power can bring me in bondage to my liberty. *A.* Where find you that? *B.* In St. *Paul*, 1 *Cor.* The Arch-B. Arch-D. Dr. *Cuſſins*, all denied it: I affirmed it. A little *Teſtament* in *Greek* and *Latin* was brought me, and a *Bible*; I looked for the place, but could not find it: great fault was in my memory, for I looked in the 10th *Chapter*, neither indeed could I bethink me where to find it, they ſo interrupted me. *A.* Your Divinity is like your Law. *B.* The Word of God is not the worſe for my ill memory. *A.* You ſpeak not as you think, for you are proud. *B.* I have ſmall cauſe to be proud of my memory, you ſee the default of it: But the Apoſtle ſaith it. Again they all denied it. You then have no cauſe to condemn my memory, ſeeing you all have utterly forgotten this ſaying. Then repeated I the words, *All things are lawful for me, but I will not be brought in bondage to my liberty.* Then they recited, *Rom.* 14. and 1 *Cor.* 8. *All things are lawful for me, but all things are not expedient.* I ſaid, I meant not that place. *A.* I would like it well if you cited your place in *Greek* or *Latin*. *B.* Why, you underſtand Engliſh; Is not the Word of God in Engliſh? Then *Cuſſin* began to ſpeak of *Indefinita propoſitio*, but whereupon I cannot call to remembrance: I told him we were now about the *New-Teſtament*, it might be if he had asked me that queſtion when I knew him at *Cambridge*, I ſhould then have anſwered him: He forthwith called to remembrance of what Houſe I was. *A.* Were you then of *Cumbridge*? *B.* Yea, I knew you there. He ſaid, he was there before I was born. I ſaid it might be. Then he entred into diſcourſe of his antiquity. Then he asked me if I had read Books, as *Calvin*, *Beza*, &c. I anſwered, that I had read more than enough: But yet I knew not why I am Impriſoned. *A.* It is reported that you come not to Church, are diſobedient to her Majeſty, and ſay that there is not a true Church in *England*; what ſay you, have you at any time ſaid thus? *B.* Theſe are

re-

reports; when you produce your Testimony I will answer. *A.* But I will better believe you upon your Oath; than them: how say you, will you swear? *B.* I will know what I swear to, before I swear. *A.* First swear: and then if any thing be unlawfully demanded, you shall not answer. *B.* I have not learned so to swear. I will first know and consider of the matter, before I take an oath. Thus many things being alledged to and fro by us, the Arch B. commanded *Cuffin* to record, That I refused to swear upon a Book. *B.* Yea, and set down also, that I will not swear thus at random, but first I will know and consider of the things I swear unto, whether they require an Oath. *A.* Well, when were you at Church? *B.* That is nothing to you. *A.* You are a Schismatick, a Recusant, a Seditious person, *&c.* with many such like. *B.* Say what you list of me, I freely forgive you. *A.* I care not for your forgiveness. *B.* But if you offend me, you ought to seek it, while you are in the way with me. *A.* When were you at Church? *B.* I have answered that in another place, it belongeth not to you. *A.* Why, are you indited? *B.* I am. *A.* Yet belongeth it to us; I will not only meddle with you, but Arraign you as an Heretick before me. *B.* You shall do no more than God will: Err I may, but Heretick will I never be. *A.* Will you come to Church hereafter? *B.* Future things are in the Lords hands: if I do not, you have a Law. *A.* Have you spoken these words of the Church of *England*? *B.* When you produce your Witness, I will answer. *A.* But upon your Oath I will believe you. *B.* But I will not accuse my self. Then began he again to charge me with Schisme, Sedition, Heresy. *B.* You are Lawless; I had rather you produced your witness. *A.* Of what occupation are you? *B.* A Christian. *A.* So are we all. *B.* I deny that. *A.* But are you a Minister? *B.* No. *A.* A Schoolmaster? *B.* No. *A* What then, of no trade of Life? *B.* In your Letter, you know my Trade in the Superscription. *A.* You are then a Gentleman. *B.* After the manner of our Country, a Gentleman. *A.* Serve you any man? *B.* No, I am God's Freeman. *A.* Have you Lands. *B.* No, nor Fees. *A.* How live you? *B.* By Gods Goodness, and my Friends. *A.* Have you a Father alive? *B.* Yea. *A.* Where dwelleth he, in *Norfolk*? *B.* Yea. *A.* Where dwell you, in *London*? *B.* No. *A.* Well, can you find sufficient

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ſurety for your good behaviour? *B.* Yea, as ſufficient as you can take. *A.* What, you cannot have the Queen? *B.* Neither can you take her, ſhe is the judge of her Law: yet for my good Behaviour, I ſuppoſe I could get her Word. *A.* Doth ſhe know you then? *B.* I know her. *A.* Elſe were it a pity of your Life. *B.* Not ſo. *A.* Can you have any of theſe that came with you, to be bound for you? *B.* I know not, I think I can. *A.* What, know you them not? *B.* I know one of them. *A.* What is he? *B.* A Gentleman of *Grays-Inn*. *A.* What call you him? *B. Lacy*. *A.* But know you what Bond you ſhould enter? you are Bound hereby to frequent our Churches. *B.* I underſtand you of my good Behaviour. *A.* And in it is this contained: and ſo you had forfeited your Bond at the firſt. *B.* Well now I know your mind, I will enter no ſuch bond. *A.* Will you enter Bond to appear on *Tueſday* next at our Court, and ſo on *Thurſday*, if you be not called, and be bound not to depart, until you be diſmiſſed by order of our Court? *B.* No. *A.* Then I will ſend you to Priſon. Then he called *Worſan* the Purſevant, and D. *Cuſſins*, apart into a Window, where he made a Warrant to ſend me to Priſon. *B.* You ſhall not touch one Hair of my Head, without the Will of my Heavenly Father. *A.* Nay, I will do this to rectify you. *B.* Conſider what you do, you ſhall one day anſwer it. *A.* You will not ſwear: you will not enter Bond for your appearance. *B.* I will put in Bond for my Bail in the Priſon, and for my true Impriſonment. *A.* Nay, that will not ſerve the turn, Mr. Doctor, enter theſe things. Then *Cuſſins* wrote that I refuſed to ſwear, and enter Bond. *B.* I will ſend ſome to you to conſer. *A.* That were more requiſite before my Impriſonment. So the Arch B. delivered me to the Purſevant to carry me to the *Gate-houſe*, where I as yet remain, neither knowing the cauſe of my impriſonment, neither have I as yet heard from him.

I was no ſooner out of his Houſe, but I remembred the place in controverſy: it is written 1 *Cor.* 6. 12. *All things are lawful for me, but all things are not profitable: I may do all things, but I will not be brought under the power of any thing.*

The Lord knoweth to deliver the godly out of Tentation, and to reſerve the unjuſt unto the day of Judgement, under Puniſhment.

The

The Twenty Seventh of November, *Eight days after I was committed by* Cant. *to the Gate-house, I was sent for by one of his servants to make appearance before the high Commissioners at* Lambeth: *whether he and my Keepers man* Nicholas *carried me. There I found a very great train without, but within a goodly Synod of Bishops, Deans, Civillians, &c. Beside such an appearance of well-fed silken Priests, as I suppose might well have beseemed the Vatican. Where, after, to my no small grief, I had heard a Schoolmaster deny his Master Christ, I was called.*

Canterbury with a grim and an angry countenance beholding me made discourse how I refused to swear on a Book *&c.* as fell out in our first meeting: and demanded whether I were now better advised, and would swear. I answered, that I would not refuse to swear upon due occasion and circumstances. *Cant.* Will you then now swear? *B.* I must first know to what. *C.* So you shall afterward. *B.* I will not swear unless I know before. *C.* Well, I will thus far satisfie your humour. *London* began to interrupt, but *Cant.* cut him off, and produced a Paper of objections against me, which he delivered to one *Beadle* to read: It contained much matter, and many suggestions against me, disorderly framed according to the malicious humour of mine accuser; as, that I denied God to have a true Church in *England*: and to prove this, the four principal causes framed in way of argument; as the Worship of God with us is Idolatry: *ergo*, no true Church. They have an Antichristian and Idolatrous Ministry: *ergo*, no true Church. Further, he saith, That the Reverend Father in God, my Lords Grace of *Canterbury*, and all the Bishops of the Land, are Antichrists. Further, he saith, that all the Ministers in the Land are Thieves and Murtherers, and secret Hypocrites, and that all the Preachers of the Land are Hirelings. That Mr. *Wiggington* and *Cartwright* strain at a Gnat, and swallow a Camel.

Further, He condemneth all Writers, as *Calvin, Beza, &c.* and saith, that all Catechisms are Idolatrous, and not to be used.

The

The reaſons to theſe are untruly and diſorderly ſet down accordingly in the Bill, which I cannot rehearſe. *Lond.* How ſay you Mr. Dean of *Pauls*, here is for you, you have written a Catechiſme. *Cant.* This fellow deals indifferently, he makes us all alike. Thus far have I ſatisfied you: now you know what you ſhall ſwear unto: how ſay you, will you ſwear now? *Lond.* My Lords Grace doth not ſhew this favour to many. *Can.* Fetch a Book. *Bar.* It is needleſs. *Cant.* Why, wil you not ſwear now? *B.* An Oath is a matter of great importance, and requireth great conſideration: But I will anſwer you truly, Much of the matter of this Bill is true, but the form is falſe. *C.* Go too Sirrah, anſwer directly, will you ſwear? reach him a Book. *B.* There is more cauſe to ſwear mine accuſer: I will not ſwear. *C.* Where is his Keeper? you ſhall not prattle here; away with him: clap him up cloſe, cloſe, let no man come at him: I will make him tell another tale e're I have done with him.

There was an Article againſt me in the Bill, for ſaying, that I thought Elders were Biſhops, and *Philip.* 1. 1. produced, hereby I plainly diſcover mine accuſer to be *Thornely* of *Norwich*, with whom I had communication at *Ware* as I rode to *London*, and never talked with any other about this matter.

The effect, and ſo near as my frail memory could carry away, the very words of ſuch interrogatories and anſwers as were demanded of, and made by me Henry Barrow, *before certain Commiſſioners thereunto eſpecially appointed by Her Majeſty: namely the two L. Chief Juſtices, the Maſter of the* Rolls, *the L. Chief Baron, and another Baron of the* Exchequor, *I think Baron* Gent, *together with the Arch Bp. of* Cant, *the Bp. of* London, *the Bp. of* Wincheſter, *certain of their Chancellors and civil Doctors, with their Regiſters and Scribes. The* 24th. *of* March.

I Being brought before the Arch Bp. of *Canterbury*, he made known unto me, that they were authoriſed by her Majeſty to examine me upon my Oath upon certain interrogatories, and

therefore called for a Book; there was brought a great *Bible* in *Folio*, fair Bound, which the Arch-Bp. refused, and called for another, which was held to me by one of his men, and I commanded to lay my hand upon it. *Bar.* To what end? *Cant.* To swear. *B.* I have not learned to swear by any creatures. *Cant.* This is the Word of God; the *Bible*. *B.* I began to open the Book, and meant indeed to have asked him, if the *Apocripha* Scripture, and Notes which were in it, were the Word of God: but *Cant.* belike, suspecting some such matter, would not suffer me to look into it; to whom then I answered, that that Book was not the eternal Word of God, that Eternal God himself, by Whom only I must swear, and not by any Books or *Bibles*. *Cant.* So you shall swear by God. *Bar.* To what purpose then is this Book urged? I may swear by nothing besides him, nor by nothing with him. *Winch.* How prove you that? *Bar.* It is so commanded in the Book of the Law, *Deut.* 6. 10. so expounded by sundry of the Prophets, by Christ himself and his Apostles. *Cant.* Well, will you swear that you will answer to nothing but the truth, and the whole truth, to such Interr. as we shall demand of you? *Bar.* I have learned to know the matter before I either swear or answer. *Cant.* Set down that he will not Swear. *L.C. Justice*, You shall only swear to answer to the truth: If any unlawful thing be demanded of you, you need not answer. *B.* My Lord, every Truth requireth not an Oath, there must great regard and reverence be used in an Oath, and an Oath for confirmation, ought to be the end of all strife: My Lord, if I should err, and deliver it upon mine Oath for truth, it were a double sin; likewise, if I should either not know, not remember, or not utter the whole truth, I were by such a rash Oath forsworn: But by Gods Grace I will answer nothing but the truth. *Cant.* A Christian mans Word ought to be as true as his Oath, we will proceed with you without your Oath, (and taking a Paper of *Interr.* in his hand, said,) what say you to this, Is it lawful to say the *Pater noster* publickly in the Church, or privately, as a Prayer or no? *B.* I know not what you mean by your *Pater noster*, unless peradventure the form of Prayer which our Saviour Christ taught his Disciples, commonly called the Lords Prayer. *Cant.* I so mean. Then commanded he the first question to be thus written. *Quæst.* 1. Whether he thinketh the

the Lords Prayer may publickly in the Church, or privately be uſed as a Prayer or no? (When I had expreſſed my mind, the Arch-Bp. commanded it ſhould be Recorded: But I deſired the Judges, that I might with my own hand write my own Anſwers, which was granted me.) My Anſwer then to the firſt queſtion was, *Anſ.* It is to be uſed to that end for which it was given by our Saviour Chriſt to his Diſciples, as a ſummary groundwork or foundation of all faithful Prayers, whereby to inſtruct and aſſure their Conſciences, that their Petitions are according to the Will and Glory of God: But that theſe preſcript words are injoyned, or that Chriſt or his Apoſtles ever uſed them as, or in, their Prayer, I find not in the Scripture. Moreover, I ſee not how it can be uſed as a Prayer, ſeeing that our particular wants, and preſent occaſions and neceſſities are not therein expreſſed: And therefore I think it not to be uſed as a Prayer. (Here the Arch-Bp. cried out for brevity, and would not ſuffer me to anſwer any more queſtions at large.) *Queſt.* 2. Whether he thinketh that any Liturgies, or preſcript forms of Prayer may be impoſed upon the Church? and whether all read and ſtinted Prayers be mere babling in Gods ſight? *Anſ.* I find in the Word of God no ſuch authority given to any man, neither ſuch ſtinted Liturgies preſcribed or uſed in the Primitive Churches; and therefore hold it high preſumption to impoſe any one deviſed Apocripha Prayer upon the Church. *Queſt.* 3. Whether he thinketh that the Common-Prayers, commanded by the publick authority of this Land, be Idolatrous, Superſtitious and Popiſh? *Anſ.* I think that this Book of Common-Prayer, publickly enjoyned and received in the Aſſemblies of this Land, is well nigh altogether Idolatrous, Superſtitious and Popiſh. *Queſt.* 4. Whether he thinketh that the Sacraments which are publickly adminiſtred in the Church of *England* be true Sacraments or no? *Anſ.* I think that the Sacraments, as they are adminiſtred in theſe publick Aſſemblies, are not true Sacraments, and Seal not the Favour and Bleſſing of God unto them. *Qu.* Whether he thinketh that the Laws and Government of the Church of *England*, now by Authority eſtabliſhed, be unlawful and Antichriſtian or no? *Anſ.* Becauſe the Laws, Decrees and Canons of your Church are ſo many and infinite, I cannot judge of them all, becauſe I know not all: But this I ſay, that many

of them, as alſo your Eccleſiaſtical Courts and Governors, are unlawful and Antichriſtian. *Qu. 6.* Whether he thinketh that ſuch as have been Baptized in the Church of *England*, ſince Queen *Eliſabeths* Reign, have been rightly Baptized, or ought to be Baptized again? *Anſ.* I think as before of your Sacraments, that they have not been rightly Baptized, according to the Inſtitution of Chriſt: yet that they need not, neither ought to be Baptized again. (I doubt leaſt the Arch-Bp. hearing my anſwer of re-baptizing, cauſed it to be left out of the queſtion and my anſwer, taking that which might beſt ſerve their own turn, to bring us into ſuſpition of error and hatred.) Hereunto many ſpeeches ariſing of the true and falſe Sacraments, Miniſtry, Government, as alſo of the true and falſe Church: I ſhewed that the falſe Church had alſo her Sacraments, Miniſtry, Government, though not aright. Then Judge *Anderſon* cauſed this queſtion to be moved to me. *Qu.* 7. Whether the Church of *England*, as it ſtandeth now eſtabliſhed, be the true eſtabliſhed Church of Chriſt? and whether the people therein, be the true and faithful people of God or no? *Anſ.* I think that theſe Pariſh Aſſemblies as they ſtand generally in *England*, are not the true eſtabliſhed Churches of Chriſt: and that the people as they now ſtand in this diſorder and confuſion in them, are not to be held the true and faithful people of Chriſt. Here the Judge *Anderſon* took exception (as the Bp. of *London* alſo) at theſe words (Pariſh Aſſemblies.) I anſwered the Judge, that I could not for ſome weighty reſpects ſpare him that word; for I doubted not, but that the Lord had many precious and elect Veſſels among them, whom he will in his good time call forth, whom it became not me abſolutely to judge, leaſt I ſhould enter into Gods Seat: yet I could not in the mean time, whiles they ſtand Members of theſe Aſſemblies, count them faithful. To the Bps. I ſaid, that when they ſhould better conſider of mine anſwer, they ſhould have leſs cauſe to find fault. Much trouble we had before we could agree of the ſtate and words of their queſtions, with putting out and changing, which diſcourſes it is not my purpoſe here to ſet down, ſo much as the queſtions and anſwers agreed upon and recorded; although for ſome cauſes known to my ſelf, and to ſome of their Conſciences, which may hereafter be known to all the world, I thought it not impertinent to inſert this.

this. *Qu.* 8. Whether he thinketh the Queens Majesty be supreme Governour of the Church? and whether she may make Laws for the Church, which are not contrary to the Word of God or no? *Answ.* I think the Queens Majesty supream Governour of the whole Land, and over the Church also, bodies and goods; but I think that no Prince, neither the whole world, neither the Church it self, may make any Laws for the Church, other than Christ hath already left in his Word: Yet I think it the duty of every Christian, and principally of the Prince, to enquire out and renue the Laws of God, and stir up all their Subjects to more diligent and careful keeping of the same. As we had much a-do to come to the state of this question, so the Bishops shewed themselves evil satisfied with my answer, and said, that the Papists dealt more simply than I did: and surely they very grievously interrupted me with slanders, evil speeches and blasphemies, during the time of my writing these answers; especially the Bp. of *London*, so that I was even inforced sometime to turn unto him, and shew him of his shameless untruths and slanders. The Chief Justice of *England* here said, that he thought I answered very directly and compendiously. Here again, upon some speech that arose, the Judge *Anderson* asked me whether I thought it lawful to hang a Thief or no? I answered, that there were many kind of Thieves, as sacrilegious Thieves, Men-stealers, *&c.* that these ought by the Laws of God to dye. Then he said, he meant ordinary Thieves of Goods and Chattels. I said, that God, in the Law, had ordained another kind of punishment for such: whereupon the Bp. framed this question. Qu. 9. Whether it be lawful for the Prince to alter the judicial Law of *Moses*, according to the state of her Country and Policy, or no? *Answ.* I ought to be wise in sobriety, and not to answer more than I know. Great doubt and controversy hath been about this question a long time, but for my part, I cannot see that any more of the judicial Law was, or can be abrogated by any mortal Man or Country, upon what occasion soever, than belonged to the ceremonial Law and Worship of the Temple, for which we have received other Laws and worship in Christs Testament: but that the judgments due, and set down by God for the Transgression of the moral Law, cannot be changed or altred,

tred, without injury to the moral Law, and God himself. Yet this, as all my other answers by protestation, that if any man can better instruct me therein by the Word of God, I am always ready to change my mind. Whereupon the Chief Justice of *England* said I spake well: and therefore said, if I were in doubt, my answer ought not to be taken. I said, I doubted not, but had set down my mind. Yet the Bps. because my answer fitted not their turns, as I think, commanded the question and answer to be blotted out. Qu. 10. Whether he thinketh that any private man may take upon him to reform, if the Prince will not, or neglect? (I asked whether they meant of a publick Reformation of the State, or of a private or personal Reformation of himself and his Family? It was said of a publick Reformation.) *Ans.* I think that no man may intermeddle with the Princes Office, without lawful calling thereunto: and therefore it is utterly unlawful for any private man to reform the State, without his good liking and license; because the Prince shall account for the defaults of his publick Government, and not private men so they be not guilty with the Prince in his offences, but abstain and keep themselves pure from doing or consenting to any unlawful thing commanded by the Prince, which they must do as they tender their own Salvation. Qu. 11. Whether he thinketh that every Parish or particular Church ought to have a Presbytery? *Ans.* The Holy Government of Christ belongeth not to the prophane or unbelieving, neither can it without manifest sacriledg be set over these Parishes as they now stand in Confusion, no difference made betwixt the faithful and unbelieving, all being indifferently received into the Body of the Church: but over every particular Congregation of Christ there ought to be an Eldership, and every such Congregation ought to their uttermost power to endeavour thereunto. Now was I dismissed, and committed again to my Keeper, with streight charge that no man might speak to me. During this time, others of my Brethren were examined, which being done, I was called for in unto them, where *Cant.* shewed me the Statute of Supremacy, and asked me if I would take an Oath according to the same. I said in that form I could not, neither could I swear to such Successors as I knew not: but to her Majesty, I acknowledged her Authority as I had ex-

expreſſed in my Article, and proteſted my life in defence of her perſon, prerogative and dignity, loyally, againſt all Forreign and Domeſtical enemies whether Spiritual or Temporal. The Arch Bp. ſaid, that the Papiſts made a better and more dutiful Oath than this. I ſaid it was not true, they denied not, neither defied the *Pope*: but I was ready to give and perform as much unto my Prince, as any true Subject ought to do. He asked me again, whether the Church of Chriſt, if the Prince deny or refuſe to neglect abuſes, may without ſtaying for the Prince, Reform them? I ſaid, that it might and ought, though all the Princes in the World ſhould prohibit the ſame upon pain of Death. He asked me again, whether the Church of Chriſt might Excommunicate the Prince, and who ſhould pronounce it? I ſaid, that ſin obſtinately ſtood in, did excommunicate, and that the Church ought to have Judgment ready againſt every Tranſgreſſion without reſpect of Perſons, and that the Paſtor of the Church ought to pronounce it; and alleadged, that Excommunication was given unto the Church, as the only and laſt Remedy for the Salvation of the party in ſuch caſes, and that the neglect thereof, was both the neglect of Gods Judgments, their duty, and the Princes Salvation: and that they might as well take away all admonitions and reprehenſions from Princes, and ſo Princes were in a moſt miſerable caſe. Theſe my anſwers were not written with mine own hand, but by the Regiſter: and ſo was I ſent again with more Commandements, yet to keep me more ſtreightly. I requeſted at both times a Copy of my anſwers, but the Arch Bp. denied it me.

Upon

Upon the Eighteenth day of the Third Month, I Henry Barrow, *close Prisoner in the* Fleet, *was sent for in all post haste, by one* Ragland *a Gent. of the L.* Chancellors, *to his Lords Chamber at the Court at* White Hall; *where being arrived I found in a with-drawing Chamber Twelve of the Brethren, among a great number of other attendances, with whom I could not have any one Word: But after that* Ragland *had signified my coming, I was forthwith sent for in to that Chamber, where sate at the Board the Arch Bp in his* Pontificalibus, *the L.* Chancellor, *the L.* Treasurer, *the L.* Buckhurst, *the Bp. of* Lond. *in his* Pontificalibus: *at the lower end of the Chamber stood Dr.* Some, *Justice* Young, *and others.*

BEing kneeled down at the end of the Table, the L. Treasurer began and asked me my name: which when I had told him, he asked me if I had not been some time of the Court? I answered, that I had sometime frequented the Court. He said he remembred me not. *L. Treas.* Why are you in Prison *Barrow?* *B.* I am in Prison my Ld. upon the Statute made for Recusants. *L. Treas.* Why will you not go to Church? *B.* My whole desire is to come to the Church of God. *L. Treas.* Thou art a fantastical fellow I see, but why not to our Churches? *B.* My Ld. the causes are great and many, it were too long to shew them in particular: but briefly my Lord, I cannot come to your Church, because all the profane and wicked of the Land are received into the Body of your Church, 2. You have a false and Antichristian Ministry set over your Church. 3. Neither worship you God aright, but after an Idolatrous and superstitious manner. 4. And your Church is not governed by Christs Testament, but by the Romish Courts and Canons, *&c.* L. *Treas.* Here is matter enough indeed: I perceive thou takest delight to be an Author of this new Religion. The Ld. *Chanc.* said, he never heard such stuff before in all his life. *B.* As I was about to shew, that neither I was an Author of this Religion, and that it was not new as they sup-

ſuppoſed: the Bp. of *London* interrupted me, and asked me wherein their Worſhip was Idolatrous? The Ld. *Treaſ.* alſo demanded the ſame queſtion. *B.* There is nothing elſe in that Book of your *Common-Prayer.* Being demanded ſome particulers, I ſhewed that their Saints-days, Eves, Faſts, Idol Feaſts, *&c.* *Lond.* Stay there: why, is it not lawful to keep a memorial of the Saints in the Church? *B.* Not after your manner: It is Idolatry. *Lond.* How prove you that? *B.* By the firſt Commandment. *Lond.* Why, that is, *Thou ſhalt have no other Gods but me.* What of that? *B.* The Word is, *Thou ſhalt have no other Gods before my Face.* We are therefore forbidden to give any part of Gods Worſhip to any Creature. *Lond.* Why, neither do we. *B.* Yes, you celebrate a day, and ſanctify an Eave, and call them by their names; you make a Feaſt, and deviſe a worſhip unto them. Ld. *Treaſ.* Why, may we not call the day after their Names? Is not that in our liberty? *B.* No my Lord. Ld. *Treaſ.* How prove you that? *B.* In the beginning of the Book it is written that God himſelf named all the days, the firſt, the ſecond, *&c.* L. *Treaſ.* Why, then we may not call them *Sunday, Monday, &c.* *B.* We are otherwiſe taught to call them in the Book of God. Ld. *Treaſ.* Why, thou thy ſelf calleſt it the Lords day. *B.* And ſo the Holy Ghoſt calleth it in the firſt of the *Revelation.* *Lond.* We have nothing in our Saints-days, but that which is taken forth of the Scriptures. *B.* In that you ſay true, for you find no Saints-days in the Scriptures. *Lond.* We find their Hiſtories and deeds in the Scripture. *B.* But not their days and Feſtivals in the Scripture. The Lord *Buckhurſt* then ſaid, I was a proud Spirit. The Ld. *Treaſ.* ſaid I had a hot Brain: and taking into his Hand a Book of *Common-Prayer,* which lay on the Board, read certain of the Collects for the Saints, and ſhewed that the Epiſtles and Goſpels were part of the Scripture: and asked me what I could miſlike therein? *B.* I miſlike all, for we ought not ſo to uſe Scriptures or Prayers. *Lond.* May we not make Commemoration of the Saints lives in the Church? *B.* Not after your manner, to give peculiar Days, Eves, Faſts, Worſhip, Feaſts, unto them. Ld. *Treaſ.* But what is there Idolatrous? *B.* All, for we ought not ſo to uſe the Scriptures. *Lond.* What not in Commemoration of the Saints? *B.* As I have ſaid, not after your manner. Ld. *Treaſ.* But what is evil here? *B.* All, my Ld. for by abuſing the Scripture, we may make

it an Idol. The circumſtances make evil things, of them ſelves, good; as in the Maſs-Book from whence this ſtuff is fetched, there are ſundry good Collects and places of Scripture, which their ſuperſtitious abuſe make abominable and evil. Likewiſe Conjurers make many good Prayers, which the Circumſtances alſo make evil. Here the Ld. *Buckhurſt* ſaid I was out of my Wits. *B.* No my Lord, I ſpeak the words of Soberneſs and Truth, as I could make plain if I might be ſuffered. Ld. *Treaſ.* Here we pray, that our lives may be ſuch as theirs was, void of Covetouſneſs. *B.* So ought we to do, and not to read or have any part of the Scripture without Fruit, and to follow and flee that which we find praiſed and diſcommended in them: yet ought we not to uſe the Scriptures in this manner to-days and times, neither to be thus reſtrained or ſtinted in our Prayers, as to be tied to this form of words, place, time, manner, kneel, ſtand, *&c.* Ld. *Buckh.* This Fellow delighteth to hear himſelf ſpeak. (The Ld. *Chanc.* Alſo ſpeak ſomewhat at that time, which I cannot call to remembrance as yet.) Then the Arch-Bp. alſo ſpeak many things againſt me, of ſmall effect, which I have alſo forgotten, only this I remember he ſaid, I was a ſtrower of errors, and that therefore he committed me. *B.* Indeed you committed me half a year cloſe Priſoner in the *Gatehouſe*, and I never until now underſtood the cauſe why, neither as yet know I what errors they be, ſhew them therefore I pray you. The Ld. *Buckh.* again ſaid, I was a preſumptuous Spirit. *Bar.* My Ld. all Spirits muſt be tried and judged by the Word of God: but if I Err my Ld. it is meet I ſhould be ſhewed wherein. Ld. *Chan.* There muſt be ſtreighter Laws made for ſuch Fellows. *Bar.* Would to God there were my Ld. our Journey ſhould be the ſhorter. Ld. *Treaſ.* You complained to us of injuſtice, wherein have you wrong? *Bar.* My Ld. in that we are thus Impriſoned without due Tryal. L. *Treaſ.* Why, you ſaid you were Condemned upon the Statute. *Bar.* Unjuſtly, my Ld. that Statute was not made for us. Ld. *Treaſ.* There muſt be ſtreighter Laws made for you. *Bar.* O my Ld. ſpeak more comfortably, we have ſorrows enough. Ld. *Treaſ.* Indeed thou lookeſt as if thou hadſt a troubled Conſcience. *Bar.* No, I Praiſe God for it: but it is a woful thing that our Princes Sword ſhould thus be drawn againſt her faithful Subjects. The Ld. *Treaſ.* anſwered, that the Queens Sword was not as yet drawn againſt

againſt us. Then in a Word or two, I complaining of the miſery and lingring cloſe Impriſonment which we ſuffer: the Ld. *Treaſ.* demanded if we had had no conference. The Bp. of *Lond.* anſwered, that ſundry had been with us, as Dr. *Some*, *Graviat* and others; but we mocked them that came unto us. *Bar.* That is not true, the Lord knoweth we mock no Creature: Neither do I know, or have ever ſeen, to my remembrance, that *Graviat* you ſpeak of: But miſerable Phyſitians are you all. For Mr. *Some*, he indeed was with me, but never would enter diſputation: he ſaid he came not therefore, but in reaſoning manner, to know ſomewhat of my mind more clearly. *Some* was then by the Arch-Bp. called, and demanded whether we had conference or no? *Some* ſhewed how that at our laſt conference before Sr. *A. G.* There aroſe a queſtion betwixt us, whether the Prince might make a poſitive Law, *de rebus mediis*, of things indifferent? I denying it, he asked me whether ſhe might make a Statute for the reforming exceſs of Apparel? I granted that ſhe might. He then ſaid it was a Doctrine of Devils, to forbid meat by a poſitive Law: he ſhewed me then, that the Princes Law did not bind the Conſcience, and that there is a difference betwixt *Forum civile* and *Forum conſcientiæ*. *Some* to this effect. Mr. *Young* then, uncalled, came, and accuſed me of Unreverand ſpeeches uſed againſt his Lords Grace, at my firſt conference with *Some* in my Chamber: ſo they were diſmiſſed. Then I beſeeched the Lords to grant a publick conference, that it might appear to all men, what we held, and where we erred. The Arch-Bp. in great Choller ſaid, we ſhould have no publick conference, we had publiſhed too much already; and therefore he now committed us cloſe Priſoners. *Bar.* But contrary to Law. The Ld. *Treaſ.* ſaid, it might be upon ſuch occaſions done by Law: and asked whether I had any Learning? *Cant.* and *Lond.* with one conſent, anſwered together, that I had no Learning. *Bar.* The Lord knoweth I am ignorant, I have no Learning to boaſt of: but this I know, that you are void of all true Learning and Godlineſs. Ld. *Buckh.* See the Spirit of this Man. Then requeſted I conference again, and that in Writing: which was again by *Cant.* very peremtorily denied. He ſaid that he had matter to call me before him for an Heretick. *Bar.* That ſhall you never do; you know my former anſwer to that matter: well, Err I may, but Heretick, by the Grace of God will I never be. Ld. *Buckh.* That is well ſaid,

The Ld. *Treaſ.* Then taking up a Paper of *Some*'s abſtract queſtions, which lay among the Bps. evidence againſt me, read this: That I held it unlawful to enact a Law that the Miniſters ſhall live by Tithes, or the people pay them: and demanded of me, whether I held Tithes unlawful? *Bar.* My Ld. they are abrogated and unlawful. Ld. *Treaſ.* Why, thou wouldeſt have the Miniſter live of ſomewhat; whereof ſhould he live? *Bar. Ex pura eleemoſyna*, of clear Alms, as Chriſt in his Teſtament hath ordained, and as he and his Apoſtles. Ld. *Treaſ.* But how if the people will not give? *Bar.* Such are not the people of God. Ld. *Treaſ.* But what ſhall the Miniſters do in the mean time? *Bar.* Not ſtand a Miniſter to ſuch, neither take the goods of the prophane. Ld. *Treaſ.* Where canſt thou ſhew me now in Scriptures, that the Miniſters ought not to live upon Tithes? *Bar.* I took the *Bible* and turned to theſe two places. *Heb.* 7. 12. *Gal.* 6. 6. In the one, where Tithes are abrogate; in the other, that another proviſion is made for them. *Lond.* began to Cavil at the words, *pure* and *clear Alms*: *Cant.* at the place in the *Hebrews*, ſaying that the Authors intent was to prove an abrogation of the Prieſthood. *Bar.* Why, the words of the Text are theſe: *If the Prieſthood be changed, then of neceſſity muſt there be a change of the Law*: and you cannot deny but that Tithes were a part of that Law: alledging, *Numb.* 18. Ld. *Treaſ.* What, wouldſt thou have him to have all my goods? *Bar.* No my Ld. but I would have you to withhold none of your goods from helping him: neither rich nor poor are exempted from this duty. Further, I ſhewed, that if the Miniſter had things neceſſary, as food and raiment, he ought to hold himſelf contented: neither ought the Church to give him more. Then had we ſome talk concerning the word Prieſt: the Ld. *Treaſ.* ſaid, that the Miniſters now were not to be called Prieſts. *Bar.* If they receive Tithes they are Prieſts. Moreover they be called Prieſts in the Law. *Lond.* Why, what is the word Presbyter, I pray you? *Bar.* An Elder. *Lond.* What, in age only? *Bar.* No, *Timothy* was a Young Man. *Lond.* Presbyter is *Latin* for a Prieſt. *Bar.* It is no *Latin* word, but derived, and ſignifieth the ſame which the *Greek* word doth, which is an Elder. *Lond.* What makeſt thou a Prieſt? *Bar.* Him that doth offer Sacrifices; for ſo it is written every where in the Law. As we were thus reaſoning, the Ld. *Chan.* asked me if I knew not thoſe two men (pointing to *Cant.* and *Lond.*) *Bar.* Yes my

my Ld. I have cause to know them. Ld. *Chan.* But what, is not this the Bp. of *London*? *Bar.* I know him for no Bishop my Ld. Ld. *Chan.* What is he then? *Bar.* His name is *Elmar* my Ld. (The Lord pardon my fault, that I laid him not open for a Wolf, a Bloody persecutor and *Apostata*. But by this time, the Wardens man plucked me up.) Ld. *Chan.* What is that man? (pointing to *Cant.*) *Bar.* The Lord gave me the spirit of boldness, so that I answered: He is a Monster, a miserable compound, I know not what to make him: he is neither Ecclesiastical nor Civil, even that second Beast spoken of in the *Revelation*. Ld. *Treas.* Where is that place? shew it. *Bar.* So I turned to the Thirteenth *Chap.* and began at the Eleventh Verse, and read a little. Then I turned to 2 *Thes.* 2. But the Beast, arose for anger, gnashing his Teeth, and said, will you suffer him my Lords? So I was plucked up by the Wardens man from my knees, and carried away. As I was departing, I desired the Ld. *Treas.* that I might have the liberty of the Air, but had no answer: and I prayed the Lord to Bless their Honours. So I was led forth by another way then I came in, that I might not see the Brethren, nor they me. This is the effect, so near as my evil memory could carry away, the very words that were used to me, and by me in that place. The Lord pardon my unworthiness, and unsanctified heart and mouth, which can bring no glory to the Lord, or benefit to his Church, but rather reproach to the one, and affliction to the other: But the Lord knoweth how to deliver the godly out of Tentation, and to reserve the unjust until the day of Judgment under punishment. The Ld. *Treas.* admonished me, and told me, I took the Lords Name often in vain. I have forgotten upon what occasion he spake it. But I beseech the Lord that I may not forget this his good admonition, but may set a more careful watch before my Lips: for sure no doubt I am greatly guilty that way, and never use his Holy Name with that Reverence I ought.

The Anſwers of John Greenwood, *at* London Pallace, *before the two L. Chief Juſtices of* England, *the Maſter of the* Rolls, *the L. Cheif Baron, together with the Arch-Bp. of* Cant. *the Bp. of* Lond. *the Bp. of* Winch. *with others, to certain Interrogatories as followeth.*

Queſt. WHat is your Name? *Anſ. John Greenwood.* *Qu.* Lay your hand upon the Book, you muſt take an Oath. *Anſ.* I will ſwear by the Name of God, if there be any need; but not by, or upon a Book. *Qu.* We will then examine you without an Oath: Are you a Miniſter? *Anſ.* No: I was one after your Orders. *Q.* Who diſgraded you? *A.* I diſgraded my ſelf, through Gods Mercy, by Repentance. (Then after many words, they brought forth a Paper containing certain Articles in manner of queſtions, as followeth:) *Q.* Is it lawful to uſe the *Lords-Prayer* publickly or privately as a Prayer, or no? *A.* It is a Doctrine to direct all our Prayers by: but ſeeing it containeth the Doctrine of the Holy Scripture, no man can uſe the ſame as a private or publick Prayer, becauſe he hath not preſent need to ask all the petitions therein contained at one time; neither can comprehend them with feeling and faith. *Q.* Is it lawful or no? I will hear no pratling. *A.* It is not lawful, for any thing I can ſee by Scripture; for there is no commandment to ſay the very words over: And Chriſt and his Apoſtles prayed in other words according to their preſent neceſſity. *Q.* Is it lawful to uſe any ſtinted Prayers, either publickly or privately in Prayer? *A.* They are *Apocripha*, and may not be uſed in the publick Aſſembly; the Word, and the Graces of Gods Spirit, are only to be uſed there. *Q.* Anſwer directly, Is it lawful to uſe them publickly or privately? *A. Paul* ſaith, in *Rom.* 8. *The Spirit of God maketh requeſt for us, and that we know not what to ask, but the ſpirit helpeth our infirmities.* *Q.* Anſwer directly. *A.* It is not lawful to uſe ſtinted Prayers, invented by Man, either publickly or privately, for any thing I can ſee by the Scriptures. *Q.* What ſay you then to the Book of *Common-Prayer*, is it ſuperſtitious, Popiſh and Idolatrous, yea or no? *A.* I beſeech you that I may not be urged by your Law; I have thus long been cloſe Priſoner, and therefore deſire you

you to ſhew me wherefore, and not now to entangle me by your Law. *Q.* Is it not your Law now as well as ours? It is the Queens Law; You are a good Subject. *A.* I am obedient as a true Subject: But I took it we had reaſoned of your Popiſh Canons. *Q.* Is not the *Common-Prayer* Book eſtabliſhed by the Queens Law? *L. Cheif Juſt.* Tell us what you think of the Book of *Common-Prayer*, you ſhall have liberty to call back what you will again. *A.* If it were in free conference, as it hath been often deſired by us, I would ſo do. *Winch.* Have you not uſed theſe words a year a-go, that it was Popiſh, Superſtitious and Idolatrous? *A.* Yes, I think I have; for it was taken out of the Popes *Portus*. *Q.* Why would you not anſwer ſo before? *A.* Becauſe I ſee you go about to bring me within the compaſs of the Law. *J. Anderſon*, What ſay you now to it? *A.* That there are many errors in it, and the form thereof is diſagreable to the Scriptures. *Arch-Bp.* Is it contrary to the Scriptures? *Anſ.* It muſt needs be contrary, if it be diſagreable. *Winch.* Whether hold you it Idolatrous, Superſtitious and Popiſh? *A.* I have anſwered what I think of it: I hold it full of errors, and the form thereof diſagreable to the Scriptures. *Q.* What ſay you for Marriage; did not you Marry one *Boman* and his Wife in the *Fleet*? *A.* No: Neither is Marriage a part of the Miniſters Office. *Q.* Who did uſe Prayer? *A.* I think I did at that time uſe Prayer. *Q.* Who joyned their hands together? *A.* I know no ſuch thing; they did publickly acknowledg their conſent before the Aſſembly. *Stanup.* I will make them do penance for it. *A.* There be ſome had more need ſhew open repentance than they. *B.* They make ſuch Marriages under a Hedge, and it hath been a long received order to be Married by the Miniſter. *A.* No, there were many faithful Witneſſes of their conſents: And if it were not lawful, we have many examples of the Ancient Fathers, who, by your judgment, did amiſs. *Q.* What ſay you to the Church of *England*, is it a true eſtabliſhed Church of God? *A.* The whole Common-wealth is not a Church. *J. Anderſon*, But do you know any true eſtabliſhed Church in the Land? *A.* If I did, I would not accuſe them unto you. *Q.* But what ſay you, is not the whole Land, as it ſtandeth now ordered, a true eſtabliſhed Church? *A.* No, not as the Aſſemblies are generally ordered: if it pleaſe you, I will ſhew you the reaſons. *L. C. Juſt.* No, you ſhall have enough hereafter to

ſhew

shew the reasons, it is not now to be stood upon. Q. What do you say to the Church of *England* as it is now guided by Bps. is it Antichristian? A. By such Bps. and Laws as it is now guided, it is not according to the Scriptures. *Winch.* Thou hast Scriptures often in thy mouth, is it then Antichristian? A. Yea, I hold it contrary to Christs Word. Q. What say you to the Sacraments then, are they true Sacraments? A. No, they are neither rightly administred according to Christs institution, neither have promise of Grace, because you keep not the Covenant. Q. Speak plainly, are they true Sacraments or no? A. No, if you have no true Church, you can have no true Sacraments. Q. How say you, are we Baptized? A. Yea, you have the outward Sign, which is the washing; but no true Sacrament. Q. How can that be? A. Very well. (Then I thought to have shewed reasons, but I could not be suffered.) Q. Is it lawful Baptisme? A. Yea. Q. Need we then to be Baptized again, if we had the Ministry and Government you speak of? A. No. Q. Should we be Baptized at all? A. Yea, or else if we contemn it, we deny the profession of Grace. Q. Do you hold it lawful to Baptize Children? A. Yea, I am no Anabaptist I thank God. Q. How far differ you? A. So far as truth from errors. Q. You have a Boy unbaptized, how old is he? A. A year and a half. Q. What is his name? A. *Abel.* Q. Who gave him that name? A. My self, being Father. Q. Why hath he not been Baptized? A. Because that I have been in Prison, and cannot tell where to go to a reformed Church, where I might have him Baptized according to Gods Ordinance. Q. Will you go to Church to St. *Brides?* A. I know no such Church. Q. Will you go to *Paul's?* A. No. Q. Do you not hold a Parish the Church? A. If all the people were faithful, having Gods Law and Ordinances practised amongst them, I do. Q. Then you hold that the Parish doth not make it a Church? A. No; but the profession which the people make. Q. Do you hold that the Church ought to be governed by a Presbytery? A. Yea, every Congregation of Christ ought to be governed by that Presbytery which Christ hath appointed. Q. What are those Officers? A. Pastor, Teacher, Elder, &c. Q. And by no other? A. No, by no other than Christ hath appointed. Q. May this People and Presbitery reform such things as be amiss, without the Prince? A. They ought to practise Gods Laws, and cor-

correct Vice by the censure of the Word. Q. What if the Prince forbid them? A. They must do that which God commandeth nevertheless. Q. If the Prince do offend, whether may the Presbytery excommunicate the Prince or no? A. The whole Church may excommunicate any Member of that Congregation, if the party continue obstinate in open transgression. Q. Whether may the Prince be Excommunicate? A. There is no exception of persons; and I doubt not but Her Majesty would be ruled by the Word; for it is not the Men, but the Word of God, which bindeth and looseth sin. Q. Whether may the Prince make Laws in the Government of the Church or not? A. The Scripture hath set down sufficient Laws for the Worship of God, and Government of the Church, to which no man may add or diminish. Q. What say you to the Princes Supremacy, is Her Majesty Supreme Head of the Church, over all causes, as well Ecclesiastical as Temporal? A. A Supreme Magistrate over all persons, to punish the evil and defend the good. Q. Over all Causes? &c. A. No, Christ is only head of his Church, and his Laws may no man alter. Q. The Pope giveth thus much to the Prince. A. No, that he doth not, he setteth himself above Princes, and exempteth his Priesthood from the Magistrates Sword. Q. What say you to the Oath of the Queens Supremacy, will you answer to it? A. If these Ecclesiastical Orders be meant such as be agreable unto the Scriptures, I will, for I deny all forreign power. Q. It is meant, the Order and Government, with all the Laws in the Church as it is now established. A. Then I will not answer to approve thereof.

A Brief sum of the Examination of John Penry, *by the Right Worshipful Mr.* Fanshaw, *and Mr. Justice* Young, *the* 10*th. of the fourth Month* April. 1593.

Fansh. IT is strange unto me, that you hold such Opinions (*Penry*) as none of the learned of this Age, or any of the Martyrs of former times maintained. Can you shew any Writers, either old or new, that have been of your Judgement? *Pen.* I hold nothing, but what I will be bound to prove out of the Written Word of God, and will shew in regard of the special points controverted, to have

been maintained by the Holy Martyrs of this Land, who first assailed the Babylonish Roman Kingdom, as namely by Mr. *Wicliffe*, Mr. *Brute*, Mr. *Purvey*, Mr. *White*, &c. with many other famous Witnesses and Martyrs of Christ in former times; and by Mr. *Tindal*, Mr. *Lambert*, Mr. *Barnes*, Mr. *Latimer*, &c. the Lords most blessed Witnesses of this latter Age. I speak nothing here of the Doctrine and practise of the Reformed Churches in other Countries, whom I have wholly of my side, in the controversies of greatest moment. *Fan.* But do the Martyrs teach you that there is no Church of Christ in *England*? *Pen.* If you mean by a Church (as the most do) that publick profession whereby men do profess Salvation to be had by the Death and Righteousness of Jesus Christ, I am free from denying any Church of Christ to be in this Land: For I know the Doctrine touching the Holy Trinity, the Natures and Offices of the Lord Jesus, free Justification by him, both the Sacraments, &c. published by Her Majesties Authority, and commanded by her Laws, to be the Lords blessed and undoubted truths, without the knowledg and profession whereof, no Salvation is to be had. *Fan.* Seeing you acknowledge that Her Majesty hath established the truth in so many weighty points, seing she hath commanded the true Sacraments to be administred, what mislike you in our Church, and why will you not be partaker of these Truths and Sacraments with us? *Pen.* I mislike, 1. The false Ecclesiastical Offices. 2. The manner of calling unto the Offices. 3. A great part of the works wherein these false Officers are imployed. 4. The maintenance or livings, whereby they are maintained in their Offices: All which I will be bound to prove (by the Lords help) to be derived, not from Jesus Christ, but from the Kingdom of Antichrist, his great enemy: And therefore for as much as I cannot be partaker of the former holy things of God, but I must be subject unto the power of Antichrist in these Officers, and known by those marks whereby his subjects are noted, therefore I am enforced and bound to seek the comfort of the Word and Sacraments, where I may have them, without the submitting of my self unto any Ecclesiastical power in Religion, save only unto that which is derived from Christ Jesus the Lord, in whom all fullness of power dwelleth, (*Col.* 1.19.) and from whom all those must derive their power and Office, unto whom the Saints of God are to submit their Consciences to be wrought upon in Religion.

Again, ſeeing the forenamed four enormities of this Church, are marks which properly belong unto the kingdom of the Beaſt, *viz.* of the Roman Antichriſt, we dare not have any communion and fellowſhip with them, nor be known by them, leaſt we ſhould be partakers of thoſe moſt fearful and moſt dreadful judgements, which are denounced by the Spirit of God, againſt all thoſe that have communion with any of the irreligious inventions of that Beaſt, *Rev.* 14. 9, 10. Theſe are the things, together with the want of Chriſts true order, which I eſpecially miſlike, and the ſpecial cauſes why I dare not joyn with the Aſſemblies of this Land, 1. The falſe Offices whereby theſe Aſſemblies are guided, and by whom the whole worſhip is performed in them. 2. Their manner of calling. 3. A great part of the deviſed works wherein theſe Officers are converſant. 4. The Livings conſecrated ſometimes unto Idols for the moſt part, whereby they are ſuſtained in their Offices. *Fan.* What Offices mean you? *Pen.* I mean the Offices of Lord Arch-Bps. and Bps. Arch-Deacons, Commiſſaries, Chancellors, Deans, Canons, Prebendaries, Prieſts, Deacons, *&c.* All which properly belong to no other body, either Eccleſiaſtical or Civil, but only unto the Romiſh Church, where they were firſt invented, where they now are, and by whom they were left in this Land, when the Head of that body the Pope and ſome other of his members were caſt out by Her Majeſty and our Soveraign Lord her Noble Father. The Church of Chriſt is perfect without them, in all her Offices; the Civil State is abſolute without them, for they are Eccleſiaſtical: Heathen Idolatry hath them not, and requireth them not, only the Kingdom of Antichriſt can in no wiſe be whole and entire without them, whereof (as I ſay) they are viſible and known members. Now, if it be not lawful for me, or any other Member of Chriſt, to be ſubject unto the Orders and Ceremonies of the old Law, as Circumciſion, *&c.* which ſometimes were the Lords own bleſſed Ordinances; how can it be but ſin unto us to be ſubject to the conſtitutions of Antichriſt, the main adverſary of the Lord Jeſus? The Lord hath not delivered us from the Yoke of his own Law, that we ſhould be in bondage unto the inventions and order of Antichriſts kingdom and offices. *Fan.* Belike you would have no other Offices in the Church, now in the time of peace and proſperity, than were in the Apoſtles days under perſecution? *Pen.* There is great reaſon we ſhould not;

for if the Order left by *Moſes* in the Church, was not to be altered, to be diminiſhed or added unto, except it were by ſpecial commandment from the Lord, (*1 Chron.* 28. 9.) then may not any Man or Angel, but upon the ſame warrant, add any thing unto that holy form which the Son of God left for the ordering of his own Houſe: for as the Apoſtle ſaith, *Heb.* 3. 3. He, (yea, and his Ordinances) are worthy of more honour than *Moſes* his were. And he that addeth unto the Words of this Book, that is, to the true order of the Church, and pure worſhip of God contained therein, the Lord God will add unto him of the Plagues that are written in this Book, ſaith the Spirit of God, *Rev.* 22. 19. *Fan.* You allow of Mr. *Luther* I am ſure, what Office had he? *Pen.* He was firſt a Monk, and ſo a Member (by his Office) of the Kingdom of Antichriſt, even a good while after the Lord had uſed him as a notable inſtrument to overthrow that Kingdom, afterward he was utterly diſgraded and deprived of all Offices; ſo that as the Spirit of God ſaith, (*Rev.* 13. 17.) he could neither buy nor ſell by vertue of any liberty or freedom that he had within the Kingdom of the Beaſt. And by this means, in the Lords great favour, he carried not in this regard any of the Beaſts marks, he was not of his name, nor of the number of his name: he denied himſelf to belong to that kingdom of Satan, and that malignant Church utterly refuſed him to be any of her Body and Members. Since his Excommunication and degradation by the Romiſh Church, he nameth himſelf *Eccleſiaſton*, in a Book of his ſo intituled, that is, a Preacher of Chriſts bleſſed Truth and Goſpel. Now, whether he Preached by vertue of a lawful Office whereunto he was called in the Church of Chriſt, or whether he taught by vertue of his Gifts, and the opportunity which he had to manifeſt the Truth, having neither time nor leiſure, nor yet thinking it needful (it may be) to conſider by what Office he did it, I know not; of this I am aſſured, that he was one of the famous and glorious witneſſes of the Lord Jeſus, raiſed up to teſtify on his behalf, againſt the abominations of the kingdom of Antichriſt: And I am aſſured that by his Tongue and Pen the Lord appeared glorioufly in the power of his Goſpel, to the conſummation of that man of ſin. (*2 Theſ.* 2. 8.) Of his Office I judge the beſt, as of a matter unknown unto me, that is, I think him to have had a paſtoral office in the Church of *Wittemberg*, whether he had or not,

not, his example is no Law for the Church to walk by, it is Christ Jesus alone that we must hear and follow, according to his Will and Word must we frame our walking; and if it be an Angel from Heaven that will draw us to swarve from the same, we dare not give ear unto him, *Gal.* 1. 8, 9. *Fan.* And what Office had you in your Church, which meet in Woods and I know not where? *Pen.* I have no Office in that poor Congregation; and as for our meetings either in Woods or any where else, we have the example of our Saviour Christ, of his Church and Servants in all Ages for our warrant. It is against our wills that we go into Woods, or secret places: As we are not ashamed of the Gospel of Christ, so our desire is to profess the same openly; we are ready before men and Angels, to shew and to justify our meetings and our behaviour in them, desiring earnestly that we may have peace and quietness to serve our God, even before all men, that they may be witnesses of our upright walking towards our God and all the world, especially towards our Prince and Country. We know that meeting in Woods, in Caves, in Mountains, &c. is a part of the cross and baseness of the Gospel, whereat it is easie for the natural man to stumble; but we are gladly partakers of this mean estate for the Lords sacred verity: and the question should not be so much where we meet, as what we do in our meeting; whether our meetings and doings be warranted by the Word or not, and what inforced us to meet in these places. *Fan.* We will speak of your unlawful Assemblies afterwards: But what calling have you to Preach? were you never made Minister according to the order of this Land? *Pen.* I might, if I had been willing, have been made either Deacon or Priest; but I thank the Lord, I ever disliked those Popish orders: and if I had taken them, I would utterly refuse them, and not stand by them at any hand. I have taught publickly in the Church of *Scotland*, being thereunto desired earnestly, and called by the order of that Church: Charge I never had any, and therefore I never bare Office either there or in any other Church. *Fan.* Did not you Preach in these your secret meetings; what warrant have you so to do, if you have no publick Office in your Church? *Pen.* Whether I did or not, I do not tell you for the present: But this I say, that if the same poor Congregation desired to have the use of my small gifts for the instruction and consolation thereof, I would, being there-

thereunto prepared, moſt willingly beſtow my poor talent to their mutual edification and mine. *Fan.* And may you Teach in the Church publickly, having no publick Office therein? *Pen.* I may, becauſe I am a Member thereof, and requeſted thereunto by the Church, and judged to be indued in ſome meaſure with gifts meet for the handling of the Lords ſacred Word. The Body of Chriſt, (that is every particular Congregation of the Church) ought to have the uſe of all the gifts that are in any Member thereof, and the Member cannot deny unto the Body the uſe of thoſe graces wherewith it is furniſhed, except it will break the laws and order of the Body, and become unnatural, unto the ſame, *Rom.* 12. 1 *Cor* 12. *Fan.* Then every one that will, may Preach the Word in your Aſſembly? *Pen.* Not ſo, for we hold it meerly unlawful, yea, tending to the *Anabaptiſtical* inverſion of all good order in the Church, for any man to intermeddle with the Lords Holy Truth, beyond the bounds of his Gifts: or yet for him that is indued with Gifts, to Preach or Teach in the Church except he be deſired, and called thereunto by the Body. *Fan.* But may any Preach, that hath not an Office in the Church ſo to do? *Pen.* Yea that he may, and the Word of God bindeth him to Preach, whoſoever he be, that intendeth to become a Paſtor or Teacher in the Church of Chriſt, before he take his Office upon him; and bindeth the Church to take the trial of his Gifts before they give him his Office, leaſt otherwiſe he ſhould not be meet for it, or at the leaſt, that hands ſhould not be ſuddenly laid upon him, 1 *Tim.* 3. 10. and 5. 23. *Fan.* What Office hath he all this while? *Pen.* No other Office then every Member of the Body hath, who are bound to have their ſeveral Operation in the Body, according to that meaſure of grace which they derive from their head the Lord Jeſus, by the power of his Spirit working in them, *Rom.* 12. 3, 4. The Word calleth theſe by the name of Prophets, not ſuch as do foretel things to come, but thoſe who are furniſhed with Graces meet for the interpretation and application of the Word, unto the edification and comfort of the Church; as the Apoſtle teacheth us expreſly, 1 *Cor.* 14. and therefore miſtake not the Word Prophet or Propheſy, as though we leaned unto any inward Revelations or Motions beſides the written Word. *Fan.* I know well enough what you mean, and will not miſtake your word, for the Scripture uſeth them in that ſence. *Pen.*

Now,

Now, it ſhould be no new thing unto you, to hear that they may Preach who have no Office in the Church, ſeeing this is ſo common a thing in the Colledges and Univerſities of this Land. *Fan.* Yea, that is in the Schools. *Pen.* If that exerciſe, whereof you and I mean I am ſure, be in your confeſſion warrantable in the Schools and Colledges, it is much more in the Church and Congregation: for the Lord in his Word hath ſet down the Rules, how the Church and Aſſemblies of his Saints ſhould have the uſe and exerciſe of his Holy Word, and not that it ſhould he brought to humane Schools, whither it never came into the Lords Mind to command that ever it ſhould enter. Let the Arts, Tongues, and other humane knowledge be taught in Schools, and let the holy truth and exerciſes of Religion be derived from the Church of Chriſt, which the Apoſtle for this purpoſe calleth the pillar and ground of Truth. *Fan.* Well, then you bear no Office in this your Church, you will not tell us whether ever you taught amongſt them or not, but you would, you ſay, if they required you. *Pen.* True. *Fan.* But how came it to paſs that you were not made an Officer amongſt them? *Pen.* Surely I was deſired to take a charge and to continue with them, but I would not, becauſe it hath been my purpoſe always to imploy my ſmall Talent in my poor Country of *Wales*, where I know that the poor people periſh for want of knowledge: and this was the only cauſe of my coming out of that Country where I was, and might have ſtayed privately all my Life, even becauſe I ſaw my ſelf bound in Conſcience to labour for the calling of my poor Kindred and Countrymen unto the knowledge of their Salvation in Chriſt, purpoſing indeed, before I had gone thither, to have offered my ſelf unto Her Majeſty, or ſome of their Honours, that it might be made known unto her Highneſs, what I hold in Religion, and how clear I am of thoſe grievous crimes of ſedition, and diſturbing of Her Majeſties peaceable Government, wherewith I am wrongfully charged. *Fan.* Why, you labour to draw Her Majeſties Subjects from their obedience unto her Laws, and from this Church of *England*, to hear you, and ſuch as you are, teaching in Woods. *Pen.* Nay, I perſwade all men unto the obedience of my Prince and her Laws, only I diſſwade all the world from yielding obedience and ſubmiſſion unto the ordinances of the kingdom of Antichriſt, and would perſwade them to be ſubject to Chriſt Jeſus and his bleſſed Laws; and I know

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this enterprise to be so far from being repugnant unto her Majesties Laws, as I assure my self that the same is warranted thereby. Her Majesty hath granted in establishing and confirming the great Charter of *England*, (whereunto, as I take it, the Kings and Queens of this Land are sworn when they came to their Crown,) that the Church of God under her should have all her rights and liberties inviolable for ever. Let the benefit of this Law be granted unto me, and others of my Brethren, and it shall be found that we have done nothing but what is warrantable by her Laws. *Fen.* What, is it meet that Subjects should charge their Princes to keep Covenant with them, and enter to scan what Oaths they have taken for this purpose? where find you this warranted by Scripture? *Pen.* The Subjects are in a most lamentable case, if they may not alleadge their Princes Laws for their actions, yea, and shew what their Princes have promised unto the Lord and to them, when the same may be for declaration of their innocency; and it is the Crown and Honour of Princes, to be known, not only to hold, but even to be in covenant with their Subjects, that they will maintain and preserve them from violence and wrong: nay, Heathen Princes have thought themselves honoured, when their mean Subjects have charged them very earnestly with the Covenants whereby they were bound unto their people. The Laws of this Land are so full this way, as no man conversant in them, can be ignorant that our Princes have preferred the observing of those equal covenants whereby they are tied unto their people, before the accomplishing of their own private affections, yea, and commandments in some cases. Hence it is, that the Judges of this Land, are bound by Law to administer justice and equity unto the poor Subjects, notwithstanding the Princes Letters be directed to them to the contrary. And as to the Law of God, all Kings and Princes are bound thereby, to be so far from thinking themselves tied by no bands unto their Subjects, as they are plainly forbidden, even to be lifted up in mind above their Brethren (*Deut.* 17. 20.) for so the Word in that place calleth their Subjects and Servants. The Kings of *Judah*, who had the greatest priviledges and prerogative, both Ecclesiastical and Civil, over their people, that ever any Kings or Princes can have, because they were types and figures of that great King of Kings, the Lord Jesus, entred into Covenant notwithstanding with their people, even particularly,

larly, beſides the general former Law, whereby they were boun-unto them. Yea, the Prophet *Jeremiah* being in no leſs danger and diſgrace with all eſtates, than I and my Brethren are at this preſent, required his Soveraign Lord and King *Zedekiah*, to promiſe that he would do him no violence and wrong, nor yet ſuffer others to do the ſame, for telling him the truth of the Word, in the things wherein the King required to be reſolved at his hands; the which thing *Zedekiah* yielded unto, and that by an Oath and Covenant of the Lord, *Jer.* 38. 15, 16. Whereby it appeareth, that it is not without great warrant of the Word, that Princes ſhould enter Covenant with their Subjects, and that Subjects ſhould require Promiſe and Oath to be kept with them, otherwiſe whereto ſerveth the Covenant? But alas, I enter not to ſcan her Majeſties Oath, I only tell you what her Laws allow me and my poor Brethren: And I am aſſured, if Her Majeſty knew the equity and uprightneſs of our Cauſe, we ſhould not receive this hard meaſure which we now ſuſtain. We and our Cauſe are never brought before her, but in the odious weeds of Sedition, Rebellion, Schiſme, Hereſy, *&c.* and therefore it is no marvail to ſee the edge of Her Sword turned againſt us. *Fan.* Hath not Her Majeſty by her Laws eſtabliſhed theſe Offices and this Order that now is in the Church of *England*? *Pen.* Her Laws have, I grant, of overſight, as taking them for the right Offices and Order which appertain unto the Church of Chriſt; the which, becauſe we evidently ſee that they are not, therefore fly we unto her former promiſe and Act, whereby ſhe granteth the injoying of all the priviledges of the Church of Chriſt. *Fan.* Why then go ye about to pull down Bps? *Pen.* Alas, far be it from us, that ever we ſhould intend any ſuch actions; we only put Her Majeſty and the State in mind of the wrath of God that is likely to come upon this Land, for the upholding of many Romiſh inventions. We labour to ſave our own Souls, and all thoſe that will be warned by us, in avoiding all corruptions in Religion, and practiſing the whole will of God, as near as we can: Further than this we have no calling to go, and therefore dare not ſo much as once in thought conceive of any thing that we ſhould do in the altering or pulling down of any thing eſtabliſhed by her Laws. *Fan.* Why then meet you in Woods, and ſuch ſuſpicious and ſecret places, if you purpoſe no inſurrection for the pulling down of Bps? *Pen.* I have told you the reaſon before: our

meetings are for the pure and true Worſhip of God, and there is not ſo much as a word or thought of Biſhops in our Aſſemblies, except it be in praying for them, that the Lord would ſhew mercy and favour unto them, which we wiſh as to our own Souls. Our meetings are ſecret, as I told you, becauſe we cannot without diſturbance have them more open. Our earneſt deſire and Prayer unto our God and our Governours is, that we might have them open, and not be enforced to withdraw our ſelves from the ſight of any creature. Of the Lords pure Worſhip in the Congregation of his people are we bound to be partakers, and that in Woods, in Mountains, in Caves, &c. as I told you, rather than not at all. *Fan.* Then you are privy unto no practiſe or intent of any ſedition or commotion againſt Her Majeſty and the State, for the pulling down of Bps? *Pen.* No, I thank God, nor ever was: and I proteſt before Heaven and Earth, that if I were, I would diſcloſe and withſtand the ſame, to the uttermoſt of my ability, in all perſons, of what Religion ſoever they were. *Young,* But what meant you *Penry*, when you told me at my Houſe, that I ſhould live to ſee the day, wherein there ſhould not be a Ld. Bp. left in *England*? *Pen.* You do me great injury Sir, but I am content to bear it. This was it that I ſaid unto you, namely, that I gainſaid nothing in this whole Cauſe, but what I could prove out of the Word of God, to be the remnants of the Popiſh Antichriſtian Kingdom; which Religion, I ſaid, the Lord hath promiſed utterly to overthrow and conſume: in ſo much, as you (ſaid I) may live, though you be already of great years (for my ſelf I may be cut off by untimely death) to ſee all the Offices, Callings, Works and Livings, derived from, or belonging at any time unto the Kingdom of Antichriſt, utterly overthrown in this Land: for the Lord hath promiſed, that that man of ſin, that body of the Antichriſtian Religion, ſhall be ſo conſumed by the breath of his mouth, and the brightneſt of his appearing in the power of his Goſpel, before his ſecond coming (*2 Theſ. 2.*) as that falſe ſynagogue ſhall have no power in any of her Officers or parts, either to be lifted up over the Truth and Saints of God, *viz.* over any thing that is called holy, or yet to oppoſe her ſelf, as a bloody adverſary unto thoſe Truths and Servants of Chriſt, who refuſe to be in ſpiritual bondage and ſlavery to her. This I ſhewed you to be verified in the Type, *Babylon* of the *Chaldeans*, according to

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the Word of the Lord ſpoken by *Iſaiah* and *Jeremiah*, and the caſting of the Stone into *Euphrates* by *Sheraiah* at *Jeremiah*'s commandment (*Iſa.* 13. 19, 20. *Jer.* 50. 40. and 51. 61. 64.) and this I ſhewed to be decreed by the Lord of Hoſts, againſt the true body, the Antichriſtian *Babel* under the *New-Teſtament*, for ſo we are taught by the Spirit of God, that ſhe ſhall be conſumed and be no more; that her Chapmen ſhall in this life bewail, and the Saints of God rejoyce at her utter overthrow, and at the ſpoil and decay of her Merchandiſe, *Rev.* 18. The comparing of the Act done by *Sheraiah* againſt the Type, and what followed thereupon, with that of the Angel againſt the true *Babylon*, I declared moſt fully to confirm my ſpeech; for *Sheraiah* throwing the Stone into *Euphrates* ſaid, *Thus ſhall Babel be drowned and riſe no more*: and ſo it came to paſs. The Angel in the *Revelations* caſting the great Stone into the Sea, ſaith, *With ſuch violence ſhall the great City Babylon be caſt, and ſhall be found no more*: And ſo it will be accompliſhed I am ſure. This was my ſpeech unto you Mr. *Young*, and I beſeech you, yea, and charge you as you ſhall anſwer in that great day, not to miſreport my ſpeeches, but to relate them as they are uttered by me. *Young*, I conceived ſome great matter of your ſpeech I tell you. *Pen.* You did me the greater wrong therein: I pray you hereafter conceive of my words, according to my meaning, and their natural ſignification. *Pen.* You ſay that theſe Offices and Livings, derived in your conceit, from the Body of Antichriſt, ſhall be overthrown by the Lord; we would know how you mean that this will be accompliſhed? *Pen.* I have already ſhewed you, that this work ſhall be done by the appearing of Jeſus Chriſt, in the ſhining brightneſs of his Goſpel, through the efficacy whereof, the Lord ſhall ſo lay them open, as he will put in- to the hearts of Princes and States, wherein they are now maintained, to aboliſh their Offices, Callings and Works utterly from among men, and to imploy their Livings unto the holy Civil uſes of the Princes and States wherein they are. After this ſort did the Lord conſume the Popes Primacy, Office and Maintenance which he had in this Land; and after this manner did he conſume by his Goſpel, the Cardinals, Priors, Abbots, Monks, Friers and Nuns out of this Land: and after this or ſome other way ſeeming beſt to his wiſdom, ſhall he (I doubt not) conſume the reſt of that body of iniquity now remaining whereſoever. The work I am aſſured ſhall

be accomplished, because the Lord hath said it in his written Word: the manner how, or the time when it shall be performed, I leave to him who ruleth all things according to the counsel of his own will, and whose ways and judgements are past finding out. *Fan.* and *Nunq.* What you do, or purpose to do in these your Assemblies we cannot tell; but this is sure, that the Papists seem to be so incouraged by this dealing of yours, that there were never so many of them in this land since her Majesties Reign, as are at this present; and they themselves say, that your seperating from us is a great stumbling Block unto them, whereby also they take occasion to do the like. *Pen.* What we do in our meetings, and what our purposes are, I have told you simply as in the presence of the Lord, and we are ready by the grace of God to aprove our actions and purposes, to be in all good Conscience both towards the Lord and our Prince, and toward all men: if the number of the Idolatrous ignorant Papists be increased, it is no wonderful case, by reason of the small teaching that the poor people of the Land have: and their increase is in the just Judgment of God, in that so many remnants of Popery are left unbanished in the Land; but especially because these baits are retained here whereby the *Pope* is continually drawn to send over his Jesuits and Seminaries, whereby also they are most easily and willingly induced to come and pervert her Majesties Subjects from their Obedience unto the Lord and his Leiutenant, and to betray their native Prince and Country into the hands of aliars and strangers. *Fan.* What are those baits that you mean? *Pen.* I mean the former Popish Offices, and there livings whereof I speak, as the Offices and Livings of Arch-Bps. Ld. Bps. Deans, Arch-Deacons, Canons, Priests &c. The continuance whereof, and of the Popish corruptions belonging to them, keepeth the *Pope* and his sworn subjects, in daily hope of replanting the throne of Iniquity again in this Land, whereof I trust in the Lord that they shall be utterly disappointed. The Traiterous Jesuits and seminary Priests, hoping to possess these execrable livings and offices again, are also thereby allured readily to become most unnatural Traitors against their natural Prince and Country; and the Papists at home, are by this means kept still in remembrance of that *Ramish Egypt*, and in continual expectation of their long desired day: whereas if these offices and livings were once removed (the devised works and callings would fall with them) the

Pope

Pope and his Trafiquers would be utterly void of all hope to ſet up the ſtandard of the man of Sin again in this noble Kingdom, here being not ſo much as an Office, or one penny of maintenance left for any of his Members: the Jeſuits and Prieſts would have no allurements to make them Rebels againſt their Prince, and the other ſeduced Papiſts at home, would eaſily forget their Idolatry, there being here neither office nor any other Monument of that Antichriſtian Religion left, to put them in mind of that *Babel*, and ſo the Lord would accompliſh that which the Apoſtle ſaith ſhall be fulfilled, even to the utter conſuming of the man of Sin in this Land. (2. *Theſ.* 2.) And therefore the retaining of theſe offices and livings, are not only joyned with the great diſhonour of God, and the offence of his Saints, but turned in the juſt Judgment of the Lord to be a ſnare of the Peace of this Noble Kingdom, yea, and of the proſperity and welfare of her Majeſties moſt Royal Perſon, (whom the Lord Bleſs Body and Soul from all dangers both at home and abroad) as it is well known by over many Popiſh Treacheries intended againſt her. I marvel not that the Papiſts diſlike our ſeparation, and you may be aſſured, that if they knew what may bring us into danger or diſcredit us with her Majeſty, with any of our ſuperiors, the Honourable and Worſhipful Magiſtrates under her Highneſs, or any elſe of our Country-men, they will be ſure to utter the ſame, though it were in their own Conſciences never ſo untrue: For they know that of all the Men under Heaven, we are the greateſt enemies unto their Religion, we leave the ſame neither branch nor root, but would have all the World to be as clear of that ſpiritual Contagion, as it was the ſame day wherein the Lord Jeſus went up on high, and led Captivity Captive. Their reaſon of their ſeparation drawn from our example, is like their Religion. We dare not join with the Aſſemblies of the Land, notwithſtanding that we know many of the Truths of Jeſus Chriſt to be profeſſed therein, becauſe in the Offices, and many of the Works remaining in them, we ſhould have Communion with the Religion of the *Romane* Antichriſt in many of the works and inventions thereof: they on the other ſide will not join with the publick worſhip of the Land, becauſe thereby they ſhould have overmuch Communion with the Doctrine of Chriſt, and over little with the poiſoned inventions ordained by Satan in the *Romiſh* Synagogue; and who moved them to their Treaſon and diſobedience,

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before we took this course? Is their reason any thing tollerable, that because we endeavour to Worship the Lord purely, they should take example thereby wholy to the Worship of Satan? *Fan.* But why refuse you conference, that you may be reformed in those things wherein you err? *Pen.* I refuse none, I am most willing readily to yield unto any, as Mr. *Young* hath it to testify under my hand: only my desire and requeſt is, that I may have some equal conditions granted unto me and my poor Brethren in it, the which, yet if cannot obtain, I am ready to yield unto any conference though never so unequal. yea, I am desirous of any conference, that Her Majesty and their Honours may be truly informed of that which I and my Brethren do hold, and of the Warrant that we have thereof from the Word of the Lord. Only I crave, that my Judgment, my reasons, my answers may be reported in my own words, and hereof I beseech your Worships to bear witness with me. Lastly, I beseech you to consider that it is to no purpose that Her Majesties Subjects should bestow their time in learning, in the study and meditation of the Word of God, in the reading of the writings and doings of the learned men and Holy Martyrs that have been in former ages, especially the writings published by Her Majesties Authority; if they may not without danger profess and hold those Truths which they learn out of them, and that in such sort as they are able to convince all the World will stand against them, by no other Weapons than by the Word of God. Consider also, I pray you, what a lamentable case it is, that we may join with the *Romish* Church in the inventions thereof, without all danger, and cannot but with extream peril be permitted in judgment and practice to dissent from the same, where it swarveth from the true way. And as you find these considerations to carry some weight with them, so I beseech you be a means unto Her Majesty and their Honours, that my case may be weighed in even Ballance. Imprisonments, Indictments, yea, death it self are no meet Weapons to convince mens Consciences.

I John Penry *do here [illegible] I shall answer before the Lord my God in that great day [illegible] set down summarily the whole truth, and nothing but the truth which I hold and profess at this hour, either in regard of my Faith towards my God and Dread Soveraign Queen* Elizabeth, *unto whom only, of all the Potentates in the world, I owe all reverence, duty and submission in the Lord.*

FIrst, because my allegeance unto Her Majesty is chiefly called in question, that I am not at this day, nor yet ever was in all my life, either guilty or privy in any purpose, consultation or intent of any sedition against, or disturbance of Her Majesties Royal State and peaceable Government. And if I were privy unto any such godless, wicked and undutiful actions or purposes as might any ways impare or disquiet the peaceable stare of my Native Prince and Country, I would reveal, disclose, and withstand the same to the utmost of my power, in all persons both forraign and domestical, of what profession or Religion soever they be.

Her supream authority within her Realms and Dominions, I acknowledge to be such over all persons, in all causes, as no person either Civil or Ecclesiastical may exempt himself or his cause from the power and censure of her Laws and Sword. I do also acknowledge that Her Majesty hath full Authority from the Lord by Her Royal Power, to establish and enact all Laws both Ecclesiastical and Civil among her Subjects: In the making whereof the Lord requireth that their Ecclesiastical be warranted by his written Word, which expreslly containeth whatsoever belongeth to his worship; and her Civil to be grounded upon the Rules of common Justice and equity, the which bounds are so far from diminishing from the Authority of Kings and Princes, as they are the only inexpugnable ways thereof. This Soveraign prerogative authority of her Highness I am most willingly ready to defend and maintain against all the estates, persons and creatures under Heaven, to the loss of my life ten thousand times if it should be needful. And I take the Lord to record, that that day to my knowledge hath not passed over my head I am sure, since the first that the Lord under her Gracious

Reign

Reign brought me to the knowledge of the truth, wherein I have not, or do not pray for the blessings of my God both outward and inward, to be poured with a full Horn upon her Right Excellent Majesties Throne, Regiment and Dominions for ever and ever: And that he would either convert, or speedily overthrow in his wrath all his and her enemies with their enterprises, whether they be home or forraign: Hereof I call the searcher of hearts, as in witness of truth against my own Soul, if either I dissemble, or forge in the premises. Secondly, touching my Faith, I do believe with my Heart, and confess with my Tongue, that there is no God but the true God only, which that written Word teacheth to be one in substance, and three in person, the Father, the Son, and the Holy-Ghost, three distinct persons of one and the self same substance. This most High God, who also is my God in Christ Jesus, I believe to be the Creator, Preserver, Maintainer, Soveraign Lord and Supream Commander of all creatures in Heaven and in Earth, Men and Angels both good and bad. I do believe that nothing doth or can come to pass, either in Heaven or in Earth, but by the fore-appointed and determinate will, purpose, counsel, direction, yea, without the most Holy, most Wise, and most upright commandments according to the Counsel of his own Will. All men by nature, I believe to be the Children of wrath, and saved only by Grace, the Sufferings and Righteousness of Christ Jesus apprehended by true Faith.

Christ Jesus in regard of his natures, I believe to be God and Man, even God alone blessed for evermore: And in respect of his Offices, to be the only King, Priest and Prophet of his Church, the which Offices he so fully accomplished in the days of his flesh, by the manifesting of the whole will of his Father, through his Preaching and Teaching the full redemption of his Church, by his Death and Resurrection, and receiving full absolute power in Heaven and in Earth from his Father, in such sort, as he is not to retain a successor in any of these his Offices, but is consecrated alone to them all for evermore.

True Faith, I believe to be the perswasion of the Heart, whereby the Soul is truly assured of remission of sins, and imputation of righteousness through Christ.

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This true Faith belongeth only to Gods elect, and hath perseverance unto the end. With this true Faith also, is unseperably joined (as the fruit thereof) a dying unto sin, and a living unto righteousnes, in such sort, as the Members of Christ have a continual battel in them against sin; the which by the power of Christs death is so wounded, and in some measure decayeth more and more in them, until at length it shall be utterly consumed when the Bodies and Souls be separated, and not before.

By the quickning power of Christ, (I do believe) that his here upon earth, are drawn more and more to be like his blessed will, and to practise the same; yea, to give their lives, rather than to dishonour their God in the will and voluntary denyal of his Truth, and the breach of his Laws and Will, in any point revealed unto them.

His revealed Will I believe to be perfectly contained in the written Word of the *Old* and *New-Testament*, given by the Holy Ghost for instruction and comfort of his poor Church, as long as the same is a Pilgrime here upon the earth.

This Church I believe to be a company of those whom the Word calleth Saints, which do not only profess in word that they know God, but also are subject unto his Laws and Ordinance indeed; with this Church I do believe that the Lord God of his mere favour hath entred into Covenant that he will be their God, and they shall be his people: The Seals of this his Covenant are only two, Baptisme and the Lords Supper.

The Church here upon earth, I do believe not to be perfect, although in regard of the order which the Lord hath appointed for the same it be most absolute, but to have many blemishes and wants in it; yet I assuredly believe that all the true Members thereof shall at the day of Judgement, receive their perfect consummation by Jesus Christ, and be Crowned in him with Eternal Glory, of his mere Grace, and not for any merit of theirs.

Through the Mercies of my God, and therefore I am willingly content to undergo my trouble in this life for his name sake, who be glorified of my Soul and Body, and of his Saints for evermore. *Amen.*

I detest all Heresies, Sects, Schismes and Errors whether new or old, by whom soever they have been invented, under what name soever they by men be called, as Puritanisme, Donatisme, Anabaptistry, Libertisme, Brownisme, and all the dreams and dotages of the Family of Love; but especially all Popery, that most dreadful Religion of Antichrist, the great

enemy of the Lord Jesus, and the most pestilent adversary of all the Thrones of Kings and Princes. So that I abhor from my Soul that whole Body, and every part of that Romish Religion, called the Son of perdition by the Spirit of God, because the Lord hath determined utterly to consume it by his appearing in the brightness of his Gospel, before his second coming.

I detest that proud superiority of this man of sin, whereby as the Apostle spake, he hath exalted himself in his Members and Power, to bare rule over the Truth and Members of Christ, even over all that is called holy: wholy opposeth himself as a most bloody adversary against all Truths and Servants of the Lord, which will not suffer him, but with his said infernal power doth reign over them instead of Christ in his blessed Ordinances.

I detest in regard of their Offices (I speak not of the mens persons touching the Lords Election) the Head of that Body the Pope, his cursed Triple Crown, his usurped Jurisdiction of either of both Swords, *Rev.* 14. 9, 10.

I detest the limbs of that Body, their spiritual Power, as Cardinals, Arch-Bps. L d. Bps. Suffraganes, Abbots, Fryors, Deans, Arch-Deacons, Commissaries, Chancelers, Officials, Monk-Fryers, Canons, Prebend-Priests.

I detest their invented manners of calling, whereby they are placed in their cursed Offices, their devised works wherein they are imployed by reason of their Offices, as the false Doctrines and false worship of that Kingdom, with the Livings and Maintenances whereby they are maintained in their Offices: And forasmuch as the Members of Christ cannot have any communion or fellowship with any of those cursed inventions, insomuch as they can have no lawful use, or spiritual communion of, or with any of these Offices, Callings, Works and Maintenances, insomuch as they cannot lawfully be subject unto any part of the Ecclesiastical power of these Offices: Therefore it is that I dare not participate in these Assemblies over which any of these Officers bare rule, or ecclesiastically intermeddle with the holy things of God, and where any of these devised callings and none else, works and maintenances are to be found; for I am forbidden to have any communion with these unfruitful works of darkness, though it be upon the pretence of injoying the Truth and Sacraments of Christ, upon pain of everlasting torments day and night for evermore, *Rev.* 14. 9, 10.

And if I may not be subject to the ceremonies of *Moses*, as Circumcision which were sometimes the Lords own sacred Ordinances, how dare

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I or any other creature be in bondage unto these inventions of Antichrist, the great enemy of the Lord Jesus, whereof neither the Saints of God can, neither yet could have any sanctified use?

The truth of Doctrine touching the Trinity, and touching the natures and offices of Christ, Justifying Faith, Sacrament externally established by Her Majesty, professed by her self, their H.H. and such as have knowledg in the Assemblies of this Land, I acknowledg to be such, as if I maintained not the Unity, and held not the Communion of the same Doctrine with them in those points, I could not possibly be saved, for out of that Communion of the true profession which Her Majesty hath established in these and the like rules, there is no hope of Salvation. But to joyn, notwithstanding, with the publick worship of these Assemblies of the Land, I dare not for the same reasons.

I moreover willingly confess, that both of the Teachers, and also of the Professors within these Assemblies of the Land, have so imbraced this Truth, Doctrine established and professed in this Land, that the Lord in his infinite goodness hath granted them the favour to shew out, where in regard of Gods Election, I protest before Men and Angels, that I judge them Members of the Body whereof the Son of God, Jesus Christ, is the Head; only herein, the Lord be Merciful unto them as unto my self in regard of my sins, that they are not ordered in that outward order which Christ Jesus left in his Church, but instead thereof, are first subject unto those forenamed Offices; Secondly, have Communion with their false manner of callings unto their Offices. Thirdly, participate with a great part of their devised works wherein these Officers are imployed. Fourthly, with the false maintenance and livings. Fifthly, are mingled with the known profane, ignorant and disordered persons, which are joint members with them in their Assemblies.

This is the sum of my Faith and Allegiance to my God and my Prince, here is the sum of the whole difference which is between me and the Clergy of this Land, and the sum of the whole cause, for the which I and divers other of my poor Brethren are judged to be Schismatiks, Felons, Heretiks. If this may come to the Royal hands of my Soveraign, and to the view of their H.H. they will be soon induced, that neither I, nor any other that hold the same with me, deserve the shortning of our days by Her Majesties Sword for these things.

And here is all that ever we hold. As touching that error, concerning the repeating of the *Lords-Prayer*, wherewith we are charged, far be it, even far be it that we should deny the same or any the like Scripture,

to be an holy form of Prayer, which containeth not only an exquisite pattern of Doctrine, which a Christian Soul may not only lawfully say, but also with great comfort have the use of the same: Indeed we rather hold it for a Doctrine than Prayer; the abuse in the often repeating of it we condemn, and this I am sure was the judgement, in this point, of those holy Servants of God who now rest from their labours. The good which this Land getteth outwardly by these false Offices aforenamed, and the Livings belonging unto them is, the Traytors, as Jesuites and Seminary Priests, are drawn by that hope they have of possessing this Babilonish Gold, to become the unnatural betrayers of their natural Prince and Country into the hands of strangers; whereas if these Offices and Livings were by publick authority once removed and converted to her Majesties use, the Pope would have no occasion to send over these locusts, they would be no baits to allure them hither, and the home Papists would be utterly void of hope to see their expected day; so that the maintaining of these Offices and Livings, their devised works and callings would fall, with them is joyned; so that there is no small danger of her Majesties person and the whole state of this Land; I do point but at the inconveniencies which in Conscience towards her Majesty and my Country, I am bound to shew; they that are wiser will think of the cause with seriousness, and would not I hope think me worthy to be smitten for this shewing the danger.

Whatsoever I hold in these points controverted, I hold the same of mere Conscience towards God, of that mere detestation which in conscience I am bound to have of all the inventions of Men or Angels in Religion, and of that care which I ought to have of the salvation and safeguard of her Majesty, whom the Lord preserve for evermore, and of my Country. I have for my warrant, not only the written Word which is sufficient, but also in the points of greatest moment, the Doctrine of the Church of *England* established by her Majesty and their Honours, together with the writings, testimonies and blood of the famous Servants and Martyrs of Christ, *viz.* Mr. *Whikliff*, Mr. *Brute*, Mr. *Ashly*, Mr. *Parvy*, Mr. *Charck*, and many other holy Witnesses of the Lord in former times. Mr. *Tindall*, Mr. *Lambert*, Mr. *Latymer*, Mr. *Bal.*, the famous Servants of God in this later Age, together with the Witnesses of the reformed Churches at this day, in the points, I say, of special weight, my Soul is so evinced by the Word of God in all them, as I am ready to give my life, by the aid of my God, for the truth of this testimony, and the testimonies of the forenamed Servants of God, and holy Churches of Christ; yet if any man can see

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by the written Word of God, that I err in any thing, I will moſt willingly reform my judgement, crave pardon earneſtly for my overſight, yea, and be moſt willing to ſuffer due puniſhment for my temerity: But if on the other ſide, I teſtify nothing but verity in theſe points I am undoubtedly perſuaded of, I moſt humbly crave, that the piercing edge of that Sword may not in heat be turned againſt me and my Brethren, which was never profeſſedly violent againſt the open and ſworn enemies of their native Prince and Country.

Death, I thank God, I fear not, in this cauſe eſpecially, for I know that the ſting of death is taken away, and that they are bleſſed which dye in the Lord for witneſſing againſt the former corruptions, *Rev.* 14. 9, 13. Life I deſire not if I be guilty of Sedition, of defaming and diſturbing the quiet ſtate of her Majeſty, peaceable Government.

Laſtly, I moſt humbly and earneſtly beſeech their Honours and Worſhips in whoſe hands this writing of mine ſhall come, to conſider, that it is to no purpoſe that Her Majeſties Subjects ſhould beſtow their time in learning, in ſtudy and meditation of the Word, in reading the writings and doings of learned men, and of the holy martyrs which have been in former ages, eſpecially the writings publiſhed by Her Majeſties Authority: if they may not without danger profeſs and hold thoſe Truths as which they learn out of them, and that in ſuch ſort as they are able to convince all the World that will ſtand againſt them, by no other Weapons than by the Word of God. I beſeech them alſo to conſider what a lamentable caſe it is, that we may hold fellowſhip with the *Romiſh* Church in the inventions thereof, without all danger, and cannot without extream peril be permitted in judgment and practice to diſſent from the ſame, where it ſwarveth from the true way. And as they find the things to be of eſpecial moment in Religion, I beſeech them in the bowels of Jeſus Chriſt to be a means unto Her Majeſty and their H. Hs. that my cauſe may be weighed in even Ballance. Impriſonments, Indictments, Arrainments, yea, death it ſelf are no meet Weapons to convince the Conſcience grounded upon the Word of God, and accompanied with ſo many witneſſes of his famous Servants and Churches.

The Lord bleſs her Right Excellent Majeſty my moſt Gracious Sovereign, bleſs their H. Hs. this whole Land, and all his Saints even for his great names ſake. Amen.

Subſcribed with heart and hand by me *John Penry*, now in ſtreight bonds for the former teſtimony of Chriſts truth,

To the distressed faithful Congregation of Christ in London, *and all the Members thereof, whether in bonds or at liberty these be delivered.*

My beloved Brethren M. F. Johnson M. D. M. S. M. S. M. G. I. M. I. M. H. M. B. M. S. R. B. M. R. M. K. N. B. M. B. I. M. N. P. W. C. P. A. my brethren M. I. C. W. B. A. P. M. M. M. E. C. C. D. G. M. A. B. *With the rest of you both Men and Women (as if particularly I named you all) which stand Members of this poor afflicted Congregation, whether at liberty or in bonds, Jesus Christ that great King and Prince of the Kings of the Earth blest you, comfort you with his invincible Spirit, that you may be able to bare and overcome these great Tryals which you are yet (and I with you if I live) to undergo for his Names sake in this Testimony.*

BEloved, let us think our lot and portion more then Blessed, that now are vouchsafed the favour, not only to know and to profess, but also to suffer for the sincerity of the Gospel: and let us remember, that great is our reward in Heaven, if we endure unto the end. I testifie unto you for mine own part, as I shall answer before Jesus Christ and his elect Angels, that I never saw any Truth more clear and undoubted then this witness wherein we stand, 1. Against false Offices. 2. The Callings. 3. The Works. 4. The maintenance left and retained in this Land by and from Popery. 5. Against the obedience which spiritually, either in Soul or in Body is yielded, and the Communion that is had with these inventions of darkness. 6. The mingling of all sorts in these Assemblies. 7. The worship done, but scant in one of the three parts of the Commission given by our Saviour, scant done I say in one of the three parts of the Commission, by the best Teachers of this Land; And I thank my God I am not only ready to be Bound and Banished, but even to dye in this Cause by his Strength, yea, my Brethren, I greatly long, in regard of my self, to be dissolved, and to live in the Blessed Kingdom of Heaven with Jesus Christ and his Angels, with *Adam, Henoch, Noah, Abraham, Moses, Job, David, Jeremy, Daniel, Paul* the great Apostle of the Gentiles, and with the rest of the Holy Saints both Men and Women, with the glorious Kings, Prophets and Martyrs, and Witnesses of Jesus Christ that have been from the beginning of the World, particularly with my two dear Brethren Master *Henry Barrow*, and Master *John Greenwood* which have last of all yielded their Blood for this precious Testimony; Confessing unto you my Brethren and Sisters, that if I might live upon this Earth the days of *Methuselah* twice told, and that in no less comfort than *Peter, James* and *John* were in the Mount, and after that life might be sure of the Kingdom of Heaven, that yet to gain all this, I durst not go from the former Testimony. Wherefore my Brethren, I beseech you be of like mind herein with me, I doubt not but you have the same precious Faith with me, & are partakers also of far more glorious comfort than my barren and sinful Soul can be; strive for me and with me, that the Lord our God may make me and us all able to end our course with joy and patience: strive also that he may stay his Blessed Hand [if it be his good Pleasure] and not make any further breach in his Church by the taking away of any more of us as yet, to the discouraging of the weak, and the lifting up of the Horn of our Adversaries. I would indeed, if it be his good pleasure live yet with you, to help you to bare that grievous and hard yoak which yet ye are like to sustain, either here or in a strange Land. And my good Brethren, seeing Banishment with loss of Goods is likely to betide you all, prepare your selves for this hard entreaty, and rejoice that you are made worthy for Christs cause, to suffer and bear all these things:

things: And I beseech you in the Bowels of Jesus Christ, that none of you in this case look upon his particular estate, but regard the general state of the Church of God, that the same may go and be kept together whethersoever it shall please God to send you. Oh the Blessing will be great that shall ensue this care, whereas if you go every man to provide for his own House, and to look for his own Family, First neglecting poor *Sion*, the Lord will set his Face against you and scatter you from the one end of Heaven to the other, neither shall you find a resting place for the soles of your feet, or a Blessing upon any thing you take in hand.

The Lord, my Brethren and Sisters, hath not forgotten to be gracious unto *Sion*, you shall yet find days of Peace and of rest if you continue faithful: This Stamping and Treading of us under his feet, this subverting of our cause and right in judgment, is done by him, to the end that we should search and try our ways, and repent us of our carelesness, profaness and Rebellion in his sight; but he will yet maintain the cause of our Souls, and redeem our lives, if we return to him; yea, he will be with us in fire and water, and will not forsake us, if our hearts be only and especially of the building of *Sion*, whethersoever we go. Let not those of you then that either have stocks in your hands, or some likely Trades to live by, dispose of your selves where it may be most commodious for your ourward estate, and in the mean time [illegible] the poor ones that have no such means, either to bare the whole work upon their weak [illegible]ders, or to end their days in sorrow and mourning, for want of outward and inward comforts, in the land of strangers, for the Lord will be an avenger of all such dealings: But consult with the whole Church, yea, with the Brethren of other places, how the Church may be kept together and built whithersoever they go; let not the poor and the friendless be forced to stay behind here, and to break a good Conscience for want of your support and kindness unto them, that they may go with you; and here I humbly beseech you, not in any outward regard, as I shall answer before my God, that you would take my poor and desolate Widdow, and my mess of fatherless and friendless Orphans with you into exile whithersoever you go, and you shall find, I doubt not, that the Blessed Promises of my God made unto me and mine will accompany them, and even the whole Church for their sakes; for this also is the Lords promise unto the Holy Seed; as you shall not need much to demand what they shall eat, or wherewith they shall be cloathed, and in short time, I doubt not but they will be found helpful and not burthensome to the Church: only I beseech you, let them not continue after you in this Land, where they must be enforced to go again unto *Egypt*, and my God will Bless you even with a joyful return unto your own Country for it. There are of you, who, I doubt not, will be careful of the performance of the will of your dead Brother in this point, who may yet live to shew this kindness unto yours, I will say no more. Be kind, loving and tender hearted, the one of you towards the other, labour every way to increase love, and to shew the duties of love one of you towards another, by visiting, comforting and relieving one the other, even for the reproach of the Heathen that are round about us (as the Lord saith.) Be watching in Prayer, especially remember those of our Brethren that are especially endangered, particularly those our two Brethren Mr. *Studly*, and *Robert Boul*, whom our God hath strengthned now to stand in the forefront of the Battel. I fear me, that our carelesness was over great to sue unto our God for the lives of these two so notable lights of his Church who now rest with him, and that he took them away for many respects seeming good to his Wisdom; so also that we might learn to be more

careful

[illegible] in Prayer, in all such causes, pray for them then my Brethren and for our brother Mr. *Peter Johnson* and for me, who am likely to end my days either with them or before them, that our God may spare us unto his Church if it be his good pleasure, or give us exceeding faithfulness, and be every way comfortable unto the Sister and Wife of the dead.

I mean unto my beloved M. *Barrow*, and M. *Greenwood*, whom I most heartily salute, and desire much to be comforted in their God, who by his Blessings from above, will counterveil unto them the want of so notable a Brother and Husband. I would wish you earnestly to write, yea, to send if you may, to Comfort the Brethen in the *West* and *North* Countries, that they faint not in these troubles, and that also you may have of their advise, and they of yours, what to do in these desolate times; and if you think it any thing for their further comfort and direction, send them conveniently a Copy of this my Letter, and of the declaration of my faith and alegiance, wishing them, before whomsoever they be called, that their own mouths be not had in witness against them in any thing; yea, I would wish you and them to be together, if you may, whithersoever you shall be banished, and to this purpose to bethink you before hand where to be, yea to send some who may be meet to prepare you some resting place; and be all of you assured, that he who is your God in *England*, will be your God in any Land under the whole [illegible]en, for the Earth and the fullness thereof are his, and Blessed are they that for his [illegible]e are bereaved of any part of the same. Finally my Brethren, the Eternal God bless you and yours, that I may meet with you all unto my comfort in the blessed Kingdom of Heaven; thus having from my Heart, and with Tears performed (it may be) my last duty towards you in in this life, I salute you all in the Lord, both Men and Women, even those who I have not named, as heartily as those whose names I have mentioned, [for all your names I know not] And remember to stand stedfast and faithful in Jesus Christ, as you have received him unto your immortality: And he confirm and establish you to the end, for the Praise of his Glory. Amen. The Twenty-fourth of the Fourth Month *April*. 1593.

Your Loving Brother in the Patience and Sufferings of the Gospel, John Penry, *a Witness of Christ in this life, and a Partaker of the Glory that shall be revealed.*

Reader, you may expect more of these Mens Conferences with several Ministers the Bishops sent to them while they were Prisoners, with Mr. *Barrow's* Letter mentioned in the Title, which would not be contained in this.

ERRATA.

PAge 38. line 3. after *thereby*, read *to give themselves*; Pag. 39. lin. 25. *for there* read *Her*.

FINIS.